The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1894.

The Week.

THE steady decline of the cash balance in the Treasury will force Congress to pass some kind of a bill immediately on reassembling. The balance is now less than $90,000,000, and this includes the greenback redemption fund, which has long been below the statutory requirement. There is now no export movement of gold, and no apprehension that the country will be forced to the silver basis. Hence the Treasury balance may fall considerably below the present figure without producing distrust. Yet it is not wise to incur the risk of fresh trouble. Nor is it wise to postpone Government obligations which must be paid. The secretary, in his annual report, recommended an alternative for replenishing the Treasury for the time being—namely, the issue of obligations not exceeding $50,000,000 in the aggregate, bearing interest not exceeding 3 per cent., to be paid to such creditors as will accept them, the remainder to be sold at not less than par (these obligations to be payable at the pleasure of the Government one year after date); or, investing the secretary with authority to issue five-year bonds in the ordinary form, and in denominations of $25 and upwards, bearing not more than 3 per cent. interest—the latter to be a continuing authority to protect the Government's gold reserve. These bonds would take the place of those authorized by the old laws for maintaining the greenback redemption fund, but would be available also for meeting casual deficits of revenue. In fact, under present conditions whatever accomplishes one of these ends accomplishes the other also. All the money in the United States being the equivalent of gold, any money which comes into the Treasury answers the purpose of making good the greenback redemption fund and of meeting the public expenses.

We think that both the plans suggested by the secretary ought to be adopted. That is to say, the secretary ought to have discretionary authority at all times to issue exchequer bills to meet temporary deficiencies in the revenue, and this authority ought not to be limited to $50,000,000. It ought to be equal to at least one-half of the appropriations of the Government for any fiscal year. There is no danger whatever that such authority would be abused. No administration likes to have its interest-bearing obligations increased, because such increase puts a club in the hands of the opposite party, and unless it can be shown that the increase was necessary and unavoidable, the consequences are sure to be disastrous in the ensuing elections. But there is something still more disastrous, and that is inability to meet current expenses. The Government's debts are no greater by reason of the issue of exchequer bills. They have merely taken a different form. Instead of owing contractors, pensioners, clerks, and manufacturers, who have groups dependent on themselves, and who cannot afford to wait for their money, it owes people who desire that form of investment. So everybody is satisfied. This is not saying that a Government obligation should be created because some people would like to find a safe investment for their idle money. That would be a form of socialism quite as reprehensible as any other. The rules which should govern in this case are the same as those which apply to a private corporation.

Mr. David A. Wells has in the January *Forum* an article on "The Teaching of Our Recent Economic Experiences," which supplies answers to a great many queries as to why the repeal of the silver-purchase law has not been followed at once by better times. He estimates the total loss, expressed in terms of money, which this country sustained because of its trifling with its standard of value, at one thousand millions of dollars, or more than one-third of the amount of the national debt at the close of the war, and says of it that the burden of these losses "fell most grievously and disproportionately upon that portion of the population of the United States which was least able to bear it, namely, those who depend upon each day's earnings to meet each day's needs." He goes on to show that the causes of these disastrous experiences were mainly artificial, and wholly unnecessary, being due to ignorance as to the origin, nature, and function of money and as to all other economic subjects—an ignorance which prevailed "not only among the masses, but among many who are filling important stations as legislators, editors, and educational directors and teachers."

No one will object to the Senate committee summoning before it as many men as it pleases, to tell what they saw, or failed to see, in Honolulu last January; but no grown man will expect to see the case against Stevens made any the less black thereby. That case does not rest upon what any man or men saw or said, but upon the documentary evidence furnished by Stevens himself and by President Dole, and upon the calendar and the watch. There that evidence stands, and no lawyer or full-witted civilian who studies it can doubt its conclusiveness, or admit the possibility of its being overthrown by any verbal testimony or explanations whatever. All the protests of patriotic motives and benevolent intentions that can be made do not touch the evidence. We commend to Stevens and his pious allies in overthrowing the Hawaiian Government the cold legal view of Mr. Justice Maule, who asked a man on trial for stealing a watch if he had any witnesses to call. "No one but my Maker, who knows that I am innocent," was the reply. The justice settled back for a moment, and then said: "Gentlemen of the jury, the prisoner has summoned one witness, who does not appear; on the other hand, you have heard the evidence of two witnesses who saw him steal the watch."

The House of Representatives passed on December 14 a bill of much general interest, which has attracted very little attention in the newspapers. It was reported by the joint commission of Congress to inquire into the status of laws organizing the executive departments, and it went through without any opposition. Its popular feature makes a reduction in the price of post-office money-orders, to place them on a par in this respect with the money-orders issued by the express companies, and it abolishes the postal-note. The argument presented in favor of the latter change was that the postal-note furnishes no security to the sender, for if one is lost no duplicate can be obtained. Under the new law a change of fees is enacted, which permits the issue of money orders for sums not exceeding $2.50 for three cents. As money-orders are subject to endorsement, if one is received at an office that is not authorized to issue or cash them, it can be endorsed to some one who will cash it. On larger orders the rates of issue are materially reduced. The measure went through the House so rapidly that its natural opponents did not have time to get their forces in line, but it is intimated that the express companies will be on hand when the bill comes up in the Senate. These companies were in active opposition to the change in the postal laws years ago that instituted the parcels post, but the measure was so popular that Congress dared not defeat it. The same will probably be the case with this bill. Further than this, it is understood that the express companies find their money-order business so profitable that they may not care to make it a subject of public debate in Congress, as already some banking institutions are said to be thinking seriously of entering into competition for it.

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Abundant evidence is furnished in a large number of letters from bankers in all parts of the South, published by the *Manufacturers' Record*, that the farmers of that section are now in a better condition than ever before. The low price of cotton for the last few years has had the good effect of forcing them to raise their own food-stuffs because they could not buy them, and this disposition was strengthened by the decision of bankers and factors not to advance money so readily as before. In this way there is beginning to be a change from the old and improvident credit system, with its reckless buying, to a cash system which requires the closest economy. This change has reduced the volume of general business, but the business which is done rests on a solider foundation than ever before, and the bankers without exception report that the farmers are less in debt now than for years. Money which formerly went North and West for provisions and grain has been retained at home, and there is every reason to believe that the South is less in debt to those sections for supplies than ever before since the end of the war.

Gov. Waite of Colorado seems to be the most hopeless case among the cranks who have been landed in high office by the political upheavals of the last few years. Some weeks ago he intimated that he was going to call an extra session of the Colorado Legislature in order to secure a restoration of the State's former prosperity. The proposition has met with nothing but opposition and protest, for public sentiment is overwhelmingly against it, and earnest appeals have been made to the Governor not to carry out his purpose. But nothing affects so conceited a fool as Waite, and he has issued his proclamation, specifying a large number of absurd plans which he wants the law-makers to carry out. There is no money in the Treasury to pay the expenses of the extra session, and although the members must obey the call of an executive who has the legal right to convene them, he cannot prevent their prompt adjournment.

Colorado—that is, all of the State except the Populist Governor—has so fully recovered from its fit of blues that the commonwealth is in better spirits this winter than ever before. The *Rocky Mountain News*, which only a few months ago prophesied absolute ruin in case the silver-repeal bill were passed, now declares that Denver is the most prosperous city and Colorado the most prosperous State between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Ex-Gov. Grant says that "Colorado is the first State to show signs of business revival," and that it will offer in the future, as in the past, "the most inviting opportunities for labor and capital of any State in the Union." At a recent gathering of business men from all over the State in Denver, the speakers admitted, to quote the words of one of them, that "this terrible importance of our silver is overdrawn," while another boasted, "We have more coal per capita than Pennsylvania, we have greater agricultural resources per capita than the States of the Mississippi valley, we lead all others in the production not only of silver but of gold." There has been a wonderful development of gold-mining during the last few months, and the new gold camp of Cripple Creek is producing marvellous supplies. Altogether it is hard to believe that this is the same State over whose impending destruction Senator Teller was shedding tears in the Senate only a few weeks ago.

The most notable passage in Gov. Flower's message is that in which he puts himself squarely upon record against the present Hill ballot law and in favor of the adoption of a genuine ballot-reform law. He says that repeated experience has shown that changes in the direction of simplicity are desirable, that the "present system leads to confusion, mistakes, and annoyance," and recommends the "adoption of a so-called blanket ballot, with the names upon it so arranged and printed that the elector can easily vote for the candidates of his choice." The Governor also favors a uniform election-inspector law, and recommends the amendment of the present corrupt-practices act in such a way as to include campaign committees and political agents in the requirement of sworn publication after election of all money received and disbursed. All these suggestions are excellent, and we are glad to learn that the Legislature will be given an opportunity to embody all of them in law.

One of the most disgraceful incidents in Tammany rule has been the attempted appointment of a certain Pentecost as assistant district attorney by Mr. Fellows, although this might have been expected from the election of Mr. Fellows himself. Pentecost is a half-cracked preacher and labor agitator, who gave up preaching for the law just one year ago, and joined Tammany Hall. He has been a Baptist minister, a Congregational minister, a Georgite lecturer, and a socialistic editor. He has, in his incendiary labor speeches, declared "there is enough money in this country to give every man $5,000 a year," and that, if he does not get it, he hoped there would be "a revolution, even though there should be a bloody one." In the *Twentieth Century*, which he edited, he came out strongly against capital punishment. That he has any knowledge of the law, or any mental capacity for acquiring it, or any fixed views on any subject, or any fidelity or loyalty to any social organization, there is no reason for supposing. As a public prosecutor he would, of course, have been ridiculous, but he was not selected to prosecute criminals. He was to draw a salary in order to please the radical and revolutionary labor element. There are encouraging features in so notoriously unfit an appointment. It is almost a maxim, in a case of outrageously bad government, such as this city rests under from Tammany, that it must reach its worst point before public opinion will so assert itself as to make reform possible. On merely debatable questions of government the masses will not stop to reason and to think. But the nomination of a Maynard, the election proceedings of a McKane, and the elevation of a Pentecost to the prosecuting office need scarcely any argument to prove their character, and they thus arouse public opinion to a realization of the course down which their affairs are drifting. In the face of this opinion Pentecost has declined the appointment.

The striking Danbury hatters have sent us a little pamphlet entitled, "Slavery Revived in the United States"—that is, by the employing Danbury hatters. We were a good deal startled by this, knowing that slavery was prohibited by the Thirteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, and knowing also, that, under the Connecticut Constitution, no man could be deprived of his liberty except by a judicial sentence. We asked ourselves, in amazement, whether the Danbury employing hatters could be so crazy as to suppose that they could impose forced labor and the punishment of stripes on a body so respectable and numerous as the working hatters, particularly as the condition of slavery was, according to the pamphlet, to descend to their children. We, therefore, turned to the "exhibits" in the pamphlet with rising indignation, and found that the "slavery" lay in four forms of agreement which the "masters" asked the slaves to sign. In No. 1 the slave applies for work, and affirms that he does not belong to any association which will prevent his carrying out any agreement into which he has freely entered, and that in case of disagreement with the master about prices, the matter shall be referred to a committee of masters chosen by the slaves. In No. 2 the masters agree to pay wages punctually to the slaves, and have due regard for their "rights and convenience," and for their "health and comfort," to renew and readjust the wages paid twice a year, and oftener if requested, and to let any slave who wishes to run away to another master have an honorable discharge if he has been six months in possession of his last owner. The slave, on the other hand, agrees to work faithfully, to obey plantation rules, to make all

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complaints first to the overseer and then to the master, to join no association which will prevent his fulfilling lawful contracts, and to pay two weeks' wages as liquidated damages in case of violation of the contract. The other agreements relate to giving instruction in the business to young slaves, and to the necessity of giving two weeks' notice of intention to run away. All we can say about this is, that what strikes us in the agreements is their extraordinary justice, fairness, and considerateness. The tribunal for deciding disputes ought to contain some slaves, but with this exception the terms are, we think, the best ever offered by masters to a servile race. As any slave is at liberty under the contract to run away on giving two weeks' notice, the system is infinitely milder than any other form of slavery ancient or modern. Even the Apostle Paul did not countenance the flight of slaves, for he returned Onesimus to his master.

There are signs that the Presbyterian heresy troubles are going to run parallel to those of the Congregational church of a few years ago, which, it will be remembered, first raged for a time among the churches in this country, and then broke out on the missionary field. A Presbyterian missionary in Siam, the Rev. E. B. McGilvary, has lately resigned on the ground that he cannot accept the doctrines of the inerrancy of Scripture or the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The General Assembly declared at Portland that any Presbyterian minister who did not accept those doctrines ought at once to leave the denomination. A few liberal ministers in this country took up the challenge and resigned, but many more fell back on the doubt whether the Assembly had a constitutional right to make any such demand, and refused to resign. Mr. McGilvary casts in his lot with those who resign. He seems to have been peculiarly well fitted for his work, having been born in Siam of a missionary father, and having pronounced scholarly tastes. He was educated at Princeton, and his defection must raise horrid doubts about the soundness of the teaching in that institution. The Board of Missions were reluctant to accept his resignation, and speak in the highest terms of his character and abilities. But, of course, it would never do to let a man keep on trying to induce people to stop sacrificing to white elephants who had any toleration for Deutero-Isaiah or the Jehovist.

The *Tribune* published on Sunday a striking letter from "a prominent American" resident in Rio de Janeiro, in which the present troubles in Brazil were intelligently discussed, and, in particular, the only concern of the United States in the squabble tersely set forth. He protests against "the pyrotechnic patriotism in which American editors are continually indulging" whenever there is a rumor that the monarchy is to be restored in Brazil, or anything done there agreeable to anybody in Europe. He denies, in the name both of Americans resident in South America and of South Americans themselves, that the United States can do any good in setting up as "the policeman of the continent," or "the stepfather of every petty republic this side of the Atlantic." With much force he points out that such an interfering protectorate has never been desired by any of the countries in question, but that, on the contrary, they have always resented it both in theory and in attempted application. When Blaine was performing his antics with Chili in 1881, and Harrison his in 1892, the result was to arouse feelings of strong hostility to the United States throughout all South America, and there was much talk of the need of a Latin-American union to resist the overbearing assumptions of the United States. Nothing else could be expected to follow any meddling of ours in Brazilian affairs at present, and our sole duty, as well as interest, is to keep scrupulously out of that quarrel altogether.

Despatches from Brazil represent stock-jobbers and other speculators as very anxious that the United States should "enforce the Monroe doctrine," and say that the news of the departure of the *New York* for Rio is received with "great satisfaction," presumably on the ground that the aforesaid doctrine will be enforced by the big ship. This throws needed light on the modern conception of the Monroe doctrine. What it means historically, and how it fits into the general body of international law, it would be vain to inquire of those who drag it out as a sort of fetish on occasion of disturbances like those with which Brazil is now torn; and it is only by some such specific application of it as the one quoted that we see what the doctrine means, and why it is appealed to, nowadays. Evidently, according to this, the first end and aim of the doctrine is to prevent Americans engaged in speculation in South American countries from losing money. When their ventures go wrong and they see their nitrate beds and rubber concessions slipping away from them, the first thing to do is to summon the ghost of James Monroe to help them out. Then, if they find submission to local laws somewhat irksome, and would like to have some way of setting the writs of local courts at defiance, there is nothing like the Monroe doctrine, properly interpreted. We are glad to see that the Washington authorities are showing no disposition whatever to encourage this view of the duty of the United States, under the Monroe or any other theory of international bullying, and have instructed the admiral in charge of our ships at Rio to maintain the strictest neutrality.

The acquittal on Saturday of all the Frenchmen on trial for the murder of the Italians at Aigues-Mortes last August is as deplorable a miscarriage of justice as was the failure of the New Orleans grand jury even to indict for the massacre of Italians in that city in 1891. Premier Crispi is said to have exclaimed, when he heard of it, "Juries are alike in all countries!" What he meant appears to be that it is idle to expect a jury to convict one or more of their own countrymen for murdering foreigners, when the murder has grown out of race hatred. As soon expect to have men convicted of murder who kill foreigners in open warfare. It must be said, however, that the French machinery of justice did not break down so disgracefully as ours in New Orleans. The French assassins were at least brought to trial, though they were not convicted. But the New Orleans grand jury would not even indict. They handed in a long report on the wickedness of the Italians who were slaughtered in cold blood, but declared that they were not "justified" in presenting indictments, inasmuch as the massacre was the work of "the first, best, and even the most law-abiding citizens of this city."

The analogy between the two cases extends also to the payment of indemnity, or blood-money, as it might be called. President Harrison's administration disclaimed all legal or international responsibility for the assassination of the Italians in New Orleans, but begged the Italian Government to accept 125,000 francs for distribution "among the families of the victims," and as a means of "effacing all memory of the unhappy tragedy." The French Government had already, before learning of the verdict on the Aigues-Mortes assassins, intimated its readiness to pay an indemnity to the Italian Government, and something like 400,000 francs had been agreed upon. But the payment was to be on the basis of reciprocity; the Italian Government, in its turn, being expected to indemnify Frenchmen whose property had been destroyed by mobs in Genoa and Rome. It is now reported, however, that the Italians are so enraged by the acquittal of the Aigues-Mortes criminals that they will refuse to pay any indemnity. In that case they will simply lose the poor satisfaction of getting blood-money for their murdered fellow-countrymen. The jingle of the guinea, in fact, appears to be the only cure left for the hurts of international honor.

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BALLOT LAWS AND ELECTION FRAUDS.

It is a striking commentary on the evil influence of David Bennett Hill upon the political history of this State that the new Legislature will be asked to enact a genuine ballot-reform law. The agitation for ballot reform in this country was started in this city five years ago, and the first comprehensive measure (for more than municipal application) embodying the fundamental principles of the Australian system which was drawn in the United States was presented to the New York Legislature in the winter of 1888. It passed the Legislature and was vetoed by Gov. Hill. It was again presented in 1889, again passed, and again vetoed by Gov. Hill. In the meantime the agitation had reached Massachusetts, and in 1889 a law which was modelled closely upon the measure originally drawn in New York, was put upon the statute-books of that State, and Massachusetts thus obtained the honor of being the first American State to adopt the reform. Other States followed rapidly in her wake, and five years after the movement had been started no less than thirty-six States had enacted laws embodying the new system in various forms. The larger number of these followed the Massachusetts plan, which provides a single or blanket ballot, with the names of all candidates printed upon it, arranged in groups in alphabetical order under each office. Other States adopted a blanket ballot with the names of candidates arranged in party columns, with the party name at the top, and still others added to the names an emblem or symbol. Three States, New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, all acting under the influence of Gov. Hill, adopted a compromise or makeshift system, which provides separate party ballots, and which has never had the approval of ballot-reformers. We show in the subjoined table the distribution of these laws among the States:

Whole number of laws		36
With blanket ballots		33
Blanket ballots, alphabetical order		19
These are:		
Alabama,	Nebraska,	South Dakota,
Arkansas,	Nevada,	Tennessee,
California,	New Hampshire,	Vermont,
Massachusetts,	North Dakota,	Washington,
Minnesota,	Oregon,	Wisconsin,
Mississippi,	Rhode Island,	Wyoming.
Montana,		
Blanket ballots with party group and name		7
These are:		
Illinois,	Maine,	Pennsylvania,
Iowa,	Missouri,	West Virginia.
Kansas,		
Blanket ballots with party group, name, and emblem		7
These are:		
Colorado,	Kentucky,	Michigan,
Delaware,	Maryland,	Ohio.
Indiana,		
With separate ballots		3
These are:		
Connecticut,	New Jersey,	New York.
With "paster" ballot, New York alone.		

The poorest, most inconvenient, and most easily "worked" for fraudulent purposes is the New York law, which Gov. Hill invented and allowed to go upon the statute-books in 1890. The Connecticut and New Jersey laws have many of the evil features of Mr. Hill's contrivance, but they do not have the worst of them, which is the "paster." To get rid of this and of the other bad features of the law is at present the object of the City Club's special committee, which, in consultation with representatives of various political and other organizations, is now preparing a new ballot act embodying the essential principles of the Massachusetts law. Thus, five years after the beginning of the agitation which has been taken up and carried to success in three-quarters of the Union, New York is still engaged in trying to get for itself a genuiue ballot-reform law. There is, we are glad to say, excellent assurance that success will crown this winter's efforts.

The need of a better law than Gov. Hill was willing we should have was very clearly shown in the last election. The Tammany workers, not satisfied with the cheating facilities which the use of the "paster" affords them, have been studying, ever since the law was passed, to discover methods by which to "beat" it. They tried a number of these methods at the recent election, and with such boldness that nearly one hundred of these gentry are now under indictment for violation of the law. What their fate will be, with Col. Fellows as their official prosecutor, remains to be seen. The methods which they operated were more audacious than ingenious. They made the provision which allows a physically disabled voter to take a friend into the booth with him to prepare his ballot, an excuse for accompanying into the booth voters whom they had bribed, having them first swear that they were either blind or prevented by palsy or lameness from preparing their ballots. Several of the blind men who had been aided in this way, incautiously picked up matches and pins from the floor after coming out of the compartments. In several instances Tammany workers, in defiance of law, placed themselves behind the booths or compartments, cut holes in the backs of them, and thus communicated with the voters on the inside, preparing their ballots for them. One Republican inspector whose attention was called to these proceedings, declared that he was not able to see them, and it was discovered subsequently that he had a glass eye, and was studiously keeping that fixed upon the Tammany operators. In other districts no pretence was made of following the regulations, and tramps and repeaters voted freely without regard to the registry list or anything else. So far was this carried that in a district in which there are not more than 7,000 voters, no less than 13,000 votes were cast.

When it came to counting, the two Tammany inspectors, assisted in many districts by the Republican inspectors, showed such zeal that in several localities in "Paddy" Divver's bailiwick not a single Republican vote was counted. In one district there were seventy-five or more ballots upon which the name of an independent candidate for the Assembly had been pasted. The inspectors were preparing to reject all these because the pasters were not placed exactly over the name of the regular candidate. When a watcher called attention to the fact that the law expressly provided that such exactness was not necessary, the Tammany chairman said, pointing to his two associate inspectors in turn: "You vote to reject, you vote to reject, and I vote to reject—we don't count 'em—see?"

These, and in fact nearly all the worst frauds of the late election, were in direct and open defiance of the law, though the use of the "paster" and the somewhat lax condition of the law generally may have contributed somewhat to make the violations more difficult to detect and punish. It is going to be difficult, however, to draft a law which will prevent an enterprising Tammany man from getting behind a booth and boring a hole in it, unless the booths be constructed of sheet-iron, and unless it be distinctly specified that inspectors with one glass eye or policemen with two, or with no eyes at all, shall not be eligible for duty on election day. The best law that human intelligence can devise will be powerless to prevent fraud if its administration is in the hands of a lot of thieves and other rascals—which was the case in many quarters of this city in November last. A step towards preventing this will be taken when the old law giving the Republicans two inspectors to every Tammany two shall have been restored. With a blanket ballot, with all "pasters" forbidden, and with an equal political division of inspectors, we shall certainly be much better off than we are at present; and these, as we understand it, are to be the leading provisions of the law which is now in preparation.

THE NAVAL ALARM IN ENGLAND.

The alarm in England over the condition of the navy is adding seriously to the troubles of the Gladstone ministry. The revenue is declining, but an expenditure of about $50,000,000 on the navy is imperatively called for, in order to maintain its superiority to the combined forces of France and Russia. The panic is an old one. Every generation has to pass through it. It occurred under Louis Philippe, when the Prince de Joinville wrote a pamphlet showing how England might be ousted from her supremacy at sea. It occurred under Louis Napoleon when he began to build ironclads, and it has come up now again, under the republic.

The controversy is very much obscured by the lack of exact information about

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the navies of both France and Russia, the Tories probably exaggerating their size and strength, and the Liberals in like manner underestimating them. There is much the same trouble about the British navy. Opinions widely vary about its strength and efficiency, but the numerous accidents which have of late overtaken it, and the poor behavior of some of the large iron-clads in bad weather, necessarily have diffused a great deal of anxiety through the community. But if the navy were ever so efficient, it is difficult to see how British commerce is to be protected in the narrow seas, where torpedo boats can dash out from a hundred ports and creeks in the dark nights and play havoc with it. This commerce is to-day enormous. It is hardly too much to say that Great Britain is in possession of the carrying-trade of the world. The ocean freight business of all other countries put together is comparatively trifling, and this is another illustration of the way in which Great Britain profits by other people's folly. She has no navigation laws, and nearly every other country has, so she takes the business away from them.

Of course, as the discussion has progressed, each side has caught at every foreign authority that came in sight. Our Capt. Mahan's 'Influence of the Sea Power' has in particular done yeoman service on the Conservative side. It is in all respects a remarkable book, and shows, in flowing and eloquent English, how from the earliest days supremacy on the sea has carried with it supremacy on land. But a good deal of its reasoning on this head has been weakened or vitiated by the invention of railways, which has considerably diminished the importance of water transportation. If Napoleon had to fight Wellington again in Spain, the possession of the sea would do vastly less for the latter. But there is no question whatever that, for the British Empire, the control of the sea is a question of life and death.

Along with Capt. Mahan, whose authority none will dispute, Lord George Hamilton, a civil lord of the admiralty in the late Government, cited our ex-Secretary Tracy as an authority concerning the number of ships Great Britain ought to have in order to hold her own against the navies of the world. We are quite sure Mr. Tracy never uttered any such opinion with the expectation that it would be quoted in Parliament as the opinion of an expert. Even a lifetime in the navy of a great power evidently is hardly a sufficient qualification for forming a judgment on this subject, for the British naval authorities differ about it considerably; and Secretary Tracy can hardly have thought that four years in the Navy Department at Washington, taken from the practice of the law, in middle life, fitted him to "give them points" on the most serious naval problem with which Englishmen have had to deal. If this were true, the training of men for the sea from youth up would be a great farce, and we should, when war broke out, readily gather up a lot of admirals from the dry-goods stores and law offices, and, above all, from the newspaper offices, of any great city.

This citation of Mr. Tracy was evidently made in great ignorance of the way in which our navy is governed. Ours is the only navy in the world, we believe, which has no naval head. All the Continental navies are governed by admirals—that is, the minister of marine, the officer answering to our secretary of the navy, is invariably an admiral. The government of the British navy is peculiar, its commanders being the lords commissioners of the admiralty. Of these there are six, but only two are civilians, the other four admirals. Then, too, it has to be borne in mind that, owing to the permanence in public life of English statesmen, the civil lords are generally men who have given a good deal of attention to the navy during long years in Parliament. This condition has been in a measure fulfilled in the case of our Mr. Herbert, for he was, before his accession to his present position, chairman of the naval committee. But as a rule our secretaries of the navy are lawyers who, before being called to preside over our military marine, hardly knew the bow from the stern of a ship; nor, as a rule, has there been the slightest pretence that they were selected with any reference to their marine experience.

As long as we made no pretence of having a navy this was perhaps a matter of small importance, but now that we are preparing to become a naval power it has a good deal of importance. We undoubtedly owe to it most of the recent mistakes in matters of discipline. It is an old and sound rule of all the military services of the world that "no man is fit to command who has not learned to obey"—that is, that every man must learn to manage subordinates in the army or navy by having himself served under orders. Accordingly, in all armies and all navies each man has to begin at the beginning, and take a long course in obedience, before he is allowed command of the lives or reputations of the soldiers or sailors. In this way, and in this way only, can he find out how much and what kind of service he can fairly exact from those who serve under him. Herein lies the value of sailors in the places of ministers of marine or lords of the admiralty. Herein, too, lies the folly of suddenly seizing a lawyer and putting him in command of the fleet. He has not the least idea how to treat officers and men; and the way in which Commanders Whitehead, Reiter, Higginson, and Admiral Stanton have been keelhauled shows the need of some reorganization of the Navy Department if we are to keep on increasing our navy.

THE EVOLUTION OF A DYNAMITER.

THE police inquiries into the antecedents of Auguste Vaillant, the aspiring youth who set about ushering in the Golden Age by trying to blow up the French Chamber, are full of instruction and warning, as they show very neatly the process by which bomb-throwers are grown. Vaillant had taken a full course in socialism, and was, in fact, as he himself declares, only acting as a consistent graduate in that discipline should when he flung his bomb. After a life of considerable irregularity, in which we see him deserting his wife and taking another man's as his mistress, he was first heard of as a public character in the guise of a founder of a "Cercle Philosophique," at Choisy. The kind of philosophy advocated in this circle may be inferred from the fact that it was soon merged in the "Revolutionary Socialistic Union" of the eighteenth arrondissement, Paris, in which well-known revolutionaries like M. Guesde gave "courses" in "social economy" and "special philosophy."

In other ways did Vaillant ally himself with the socialistic propaganda. He had for a time a connection with the *Cri du Peuple*. He was also a dabbler in local politics. For some time he was at the head of a "movement" to present a bust of Marat to the city, which was somehow expected to give a great lift to the socialist party. But finally the bust was seized by Vaillant's landlord for unpaid rent, and so that movement came to grief. He kept up his political activity, however, and several socialistic proclamations put forth by him as secretary of his "group" have been unearthed. One of them, dated 1886, called upon his fellow-citizens to join their ballots in electing a certain candidate, "while waiting for the time to come to join our rifles to fight against a reactionary society." Another one, put forth in 1887, defined the purpose of his "union" to "pursue, no matter by what means, the socialization of the means of production." This is only the common socialistic jargon, still used and defended even by the French socialists who now condemn Vaillant unsparingly.

Vaillant is to be traced for some time in various socialistic organizations—the "Parisian Agglomeration," the "Federation of Free Thought," the "Equals of Montmartre," and a dozen others. A part of his zeal in attending their meetings may have been due to the fact that he used to work off a good deal of rice and coffee at a commission on his fellow-socialists; but this resource soon failed him, and he then spent some time in South America. Returning to Paris about a year ago, he tried hard to get a nomination as deputy last August.

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Had he been successful, he might have been comfortably sitting with the other socialistic deputies in the Chamber on December 9, and left it to some other advanced reformer to throw the bomb from the gallery.

Such a career is worth detailing, because it so characteristically reveals the evolution of an anarchist out of a socialist, and of a dynamiter out of an anarchist. In his own weak and vain head, Vaillant illustrates the precise and necessary operation of the socialistic philosophy upon thousands of other weak and vain heads. Is it anything strange that they should take to throwing bombs in order to hasten the destruction of a social order which, they are assured by their teachers, is one vast system of legalized robbery? A writer in the *Débats* says most truthfully on this point:

"One can easily, link by link, reconstruct the chain which joins the anarchist who throws a bomb in the Palais-Bourbon with the writer whose anti-social theories and incitements and provocations are spread abroad every day in the socialistic newspapers, or with the orator who makes their gatherings reëcho. They are sowing in brutal natures the seeds of every kind of violence and fury, and are giving weak minds the most dangerous sophisms to feed upon. They are planting germs of hatred, they are corrupting the reason and destroying the conscience; and yet, when they have been listened to attentively, when the destructive practices which they have incited have done their work, they disavow their own doing and protest that their hands are clean."

The truth of this is witnessed to in the very condemnations visited upon Vaillant's head by his former socialistic colleagues. They call him "rash" and "premature," and say that the "really responsible criminal" is "the villany of existing society." If this is so, what folly for them to denounce a man for adopting means of his own which to his mind seem more rapid and effective than theirs for putting an end to that villany! They both aim at the destruction of the present social order. Not one stone of it is to be left upon another. Why, then, quarrel about a mere detail of the destructive process? At any rate, as long as their socialistic doctrines are all the while turning out such graduates as Vaillant, it is not possible to disclaim all responsibility for him. He himself asserts that he is the most consistent of socialists, and, as a mere matter of logic, it would be hard to show that he is not. It is easy to say that he is a crack-brained creature who has no grasp of the true socialistic principle; but the world is full of just such fellows as he is, and our benevolent professors and writers who preach up the "nationalization of the means of production" may be sure that they have plenty such in their audiences, ready, like Vaillant, to put their doctrines to the practical test with dynamite.

THE POPULARIZATION OF EVIL.

M. Édouard Rod has been remarking on the predominance in current French caricature of repellent types. He shows how the progress of the art has been away from the clumsy fun of André Gill, all the rage fifteen years ago, through the more delicately conceived raillery of Grévin and Robida, down to the pitiless sarcasm and delight in human brutality which mark the style of Forain, who to-day sets the fashion. "And you must observe," says M. Rod, "that Forain's success is not an isolated fact; it harmonizes with tendencies to which the Théâtre-Libre has given striking emphasis, and which are also conspicuous in some of the recent reviews. It is always the same thing: an over-acute observation which searches after evil, which finds it and rejoices to find it, and displays it with ironic satisfaction. People wallow in all sorts of baseness and laugh at it; they appear to be well pleased to wallow in it and to laugh at it, and they seem to say, 'What a fine thing it is that men are horrible, and what should we have to amuse ourselves with if they were not!'"

Putting artistic questions aside, M. Rod asks what must be the effect of all this on the public. What about the plain people who have no resemblance to the moral monsters pictured for their entertainment, who live quiet lives and enjoy simple pleasures? Do they laugh at these cruel caricatures, and go to plays which turn on abnormal vices simply to be in style? He almost hopes that they do, but he has to admit it to be more likely that "these terrible engravings, with their terrible explanations, awaken in them, almost before they know it, dormant instincts long held in check by civilization, but to which it suddenly becomes proper to give full rein — a legacy of ancient savagery, a survival of primitive ferocity." If that is the case, says M. Rod, we can see whither we are marching, and we must learn betimes to hate the human beast most of all when it is talented.

We may still congratulate ourselves that the talented human beast has made but meagre conquests in this country. Perhaps we ought to hang our heads in shame as benighted Philistines in confessing it, but anyhow it seems to be a fact that the predominant literary and dramatic and artistic taste of Americans does not yet take kindly to those subjects which, as Harapha of Gath said of Samson, "need much washing to be touched." But how if we have a human beast without talent? If it is still true that our writers and artists find their best inspiration and reward in themes that are wholesome, have we no other agencies for the popularization of evil, comparable to those of which M. Rod deplores the bad effects in France?

It is trite enough to say that the sensational press is such an agency, but it is fair to ask if there is not a clear analogy between its harmful influence and that of the worst forms of French naturalism. Leaving entirely out of account for the present the responsibilities of newspaper proprietors and newspaper purchasers, let the simple question be put, What is bound to be the effect on its readers of the constant exploitation of crime and vice and scandal which plays so great a part in the daily press? The question may be thus isolated and asked merely as a psychological and sociological one. Say nothing about the taste and pleasure of the reader or the ethics and profits of the editor, and inquire only what effect the daily presentation of the human beast, without any glamour of literary art about him, is going to have upon the people in whose faces he is thrust every day.

To begin with the lowest class of readers, it has long been well understood by criminologists and alienists that the epidemic character which crime often seems to have in modern times is largely due to the broadcasting of all crime by the press. Let a peculiarly brutal or novel method of murder or suicide be invented in some part of the country, and it is sure to be duplicated as soon as the newspaper suggestion of it can be brought to bear on the unstable brains only waiting for some such push. Something of the same sort is clearly traceable in the plague of dynamite explosions now sweeping over Europe. The bomb in the theatre at Barcelona seems to suggest the bomb in the Chamber at Paris, and that a dozen others, until now the French police are every day arresting half-lunatic criminals perfectly crazy to throw a bomb at somebody. So, too, the passion for sending infernal-machines to prominent men seems often to go in waves of infection of which the newspapers make themselves the vehicle.

We may be sure that the psychological law which we see here so plainly operative, works also in the obscurer cases. "The fig-tree looking on the fig-tree becometh fruitful," says an Arabian proverb. Daily contemplation of the vices and meannesses and domestic unhappinesses of mankind is a dangerous test for any man to subject himself to. If he is pure-minded and high-minded, he is in danger of losing, by familiarity, that quick sense of disgust and repulsion which is his safeguard at first. If he has any diseased parts in his mental and moral make-up, they are sure to be inflamed. A man brooding over his own wrongs or misfortunes, fancied or real, will be given a perilous tilt towards executing the villany he sees spread before him. Into slow-witted natures hints of baseness and trickery will be dropped which they never could of themselves have originated. Innocence and reticence will become more and more impossible to find, and a banal sophistication on all subjects will become universal. Such results are certain to attend the popularization of evil,

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and to mark the progress of the human beast, with or without talent.

THE PARLIAMENTARY YEAR IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, December 19, 1893.

ALTHOUGH the Government majority, after the general election, fell slightly short of what sanguine Liberals had anticipated, seldom did a session open with higher hopes than that which met here on the 31st of January. The Queen's speech foreshadowed the following great measures: home rule, registration reform, shortening duration of Parliament, one man one vote, employers' liability, parish councils, local veto, church suspensory bills preparatory to disestablishment for Scotland and Wales. All these have been abandoned for this session, except home rule, employers' liability, and parish councils. Besides the passage of the estimates, for which Parliament is primarily called, home rule practically occupied the entire session from February till September inclusive. After the bill had been thrown out by the Lords, we met again on the 2d of November. The parish-councils bill came up for second reading and was passed without division on the 7th. The employers'-liability bill came up from the grand committee and was passed on the 16th. It was subsequently, in the opinion of three-fourths of the Liberal party, destroyed, at least in one of its most vital provisions, by the Lords. The committee stage of the parish-councils bill was taken on the 17th of November, since when it has practically occupied Parliament. We are to have only three days' vacation at Christmas. Possibly this bill may not be carried through even in January. Only nineteen of seventy-one clauses have yet been passed. What treatment the Lords will inflict on it remains to be seen.

Such a state of affairs is without precedent. A deliberate and deep-laid plan is being carried out to block business, play into the hands of the Lords, discredit the Government, and precipitate a general election. Nor is the Opposition altogether responsible for the blocking. As Mr. Balfour pointed out the other day, the notice paper, when the bill was entered upon in committee, included no fewer than three hundred amendments by Government supporters. The interest of the Government is clearly not to dissolve until it has done effective work, and, if possible, strengthened its hold on the electorate by the passage of the registration and one-man-one-vote bills. To outsiders it may appear that the Conservatives, in thus opposing and delaying Liberal reform, and the Lords in aiding and abetting them, are undermining their own position. But the English are a peculiar people. So long as they get what they want, they do not care under what name or at whose hands it reaches them. This, perhaps, has helped to make their progress steady. They know that both parties must in the end cater for *them*. The upper classes have staved off as long as possible measures imperilling their position and impugning their interests; but they have at the same time maintained their prestige by conceding when it was inevitable, and they often manage to get the credit of passing such reforms as can no longer be withheld. The Conservatives enjoy the immense advantage of having the dead pull of vested interests always on their side. We will suppose the Conservatives are in power. Certain reforms come to be desired which they are loath to concede. Upon a thousand platforms enough enthusiasm is aroused to overcome these vested interests. The Liberals are returned, the reforms conceded. The interests reassert their power, those recently attacked thirsting for revenge. All the Liberals have now to offer is good government. The Conservatives can bid as high in this regard. The Liberals are turned out until a fresh crop of necessities arises. Ireland, meanwhile, unless when making herself a nuisance, so little affects the daily lives of Englishmen as to be likely to be left out of account; and so party succeeds party. And it is to be noted that when Conservatives see fit to take reforms in hand, they do so with the consent of the interests compromised, which realize that it is better to be disturbed by their friends than their opponents.

As yet there is no sign of real agitation against the Lords on account of their action regarding home rule or employers' liability. The middle classes gravitate more and more towards conservatism; the overwhelming preponderance of Irish Protestant opinion against home rule is being exploited with persistent ability against Mr. Gladstone. The church and liquor interests are up in arms. The Lords are generally found willing to pass any measure, however radical, proposed by a Conservative government. The Liberals have no excuse for delaying reform by whomsoever proposed. If affairs go on as they have of late years, it appears as though only a Conservative government is to be permitted to carry through extensive reforms. It must soon become apparent that there is some cause for the present deadlock beyond the presence of eighty Irish National members in the House (who, except at question time, have scarcely opened their lips for months), or the desire of the Liberal party to pass a home-rule bill. It must be evident that even if there were not an Irish Home-Ruler in Parliament, the present effort to transact the affairs, great and small, of thirty-five millions of people at home and to manage a widely extended empire abroad is breaking down under its own weight. Nay, the absurdity of the attempt would be more apparent if Ireland were not agitating for home rule, for then her four millions and a half of inhabitants would not be content without their yearly requirements of legislation in minor matters being attended to. Comparing political needs in the two islands now with what they were at the time of the Union, the difficulty of legislating intelligently for both in one assembly has been greatly increased. There is an established church in England; there is none in Ireland. Equality of institutions existed in Pitt's time. Since then have developed different land laws, a different educational system, a different police system, different marriage laws. Difference of institutions induces other differences. The tendency has been more and more towards diversity. All this is telling now on the parliamentary machine. But still more embarrassing, perhaps, has been the ever-increasing complication of law, and its application, in a manner formerly unknown, to the every-day concerns of life. There is hardly a line of this parish-councils bill that has not to be considered in relation to other legislation passed in late years. Law formerly, however rude in its construction, however rough-and-ready in application, lay like a simple open network over the land. It is now more and more closely woven, and the introduction of new threads, the passing new laws, is increasingly difficult. There is, in truth, almost as much difference between law in its complexity now and the law of sixty years ago as there is between the twin-screw triple-expansion liners which now enter the harbor of San Francisco and the brig in which Dana spent his two years before the mast. We must, besides, remember that the law is in these countries more nearly carried out, more rigid and unbending in its action, than in most countries.

Possibly, while the Opposition, by their dilatory tactics, may be undermining the cause of home rule in the present, they are unwittingly insuring its triumph in the future. Yet all still depends on the Irish people at home and abroad. Undoubtedly the state of affairs in Ireland now is very grave. The long continuance of this perhaps unavoidable contest certainly has most disastrous effects upon the country. The desire for home rule, some effective control over their own laws and institutions, is deeply rooted in the hearts of most Irishmen. In a determined and devoted band it has led to great personal sacrifices. It is retained in a sleepy sort of way by the multitude. They have no intention of abandoning the claim, but they do not care that it should seriously interfere with their daily lives and private money interests. Probably a Protestant people imbued with like desires would work more unitedly and determinedly. They might, it is true, have been on occasions fatally broken down. They might not, by bending to the storm, have preserved themselves, as the Irish often did, for better times. But under circumstances such as the present, I believe a larger proportion of a Protestant community would feel it individually incumbent on them to assert themselves. Most of those from whom the best governing class might be selected in Ireland have, unless in the north, for the present withdrawn altogether from politics. The boycotting by the upper classes of traders professing national proclivities is so severe that they are afraid to come forward. The consequence is that the cause is too often represented by men little skilled in public affairs. They are upon the whole as clean-handed as those who occupied their places in ascendancy times, but they are less experienced. And we are perhaps somewhat inclined, like the French, to prefer untried men who profess to agree with us and who make large promises, to tried men in whose career mistakes can be detected. The number of evicted and idle tenants throughout the country, the unsettlement caused by agitation, constant emigration of the heartiest and strongest, all tend to enervate the country.

Irish Castle government is such a nicely compacted machine that even men like Mr. Morley and Mr. Bryce in their administrative action have been able to make little impression upon it. The masses of the Irish people see little change. Neither the promises nor the anticipations of the general election have been realized. This tends upon the one hand to cool political ardor, and upon the other to strengthen the hands of the Parnellites, who favor a "hillside" and irreconcilable policy. Nevertheless, the real irreconcilables in Ireland will yet be found to be the Protestant and Conservative party. The Nationalists have within the last twenty-five years advanced much closer than they to a reasonable settlement. They have definitely abandoned the separation theory. Irish Conservatives and their English allies have not yet abandoned the idea of Protestant supremacy in Ireland—a theory as impossible of maintenance as that of separation would be of realization. Mr. Bryce is at present filling Mr. Morley's place as chief secretary. Even he cannot please them. I find the

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following in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of yesterday: "If the object of the prime minister in selecting Mr. Bryce as the mouthpiece of the Irish government was to insult and irritate Ulstermen, he has clearly achieved an admirable success." If they are not satisfied with the government of men like Mr. Bryce, with whose government would they be satisfied? It is, in truth, for the English people to consider whether they prefer the friendship of the masses of the Irish people, who can be reconciled, or that of the Irish minority, who could be kept in good humor only upon terms impossible of maintenance in a democratic community.

Two articles regarding Ireland, signed "X," but evidently by different authors, which appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* for last month and this, have attracted considerable attention. The first attributes, to a mistaken extent, much of the economic depression in the country to railway and bank mismanagement. It dwells upon the general drawbacks, such as I have above indicated, and, while largely attributing them to the want of home rule, questions whether it is not now too late for the application of that or indeed any other remedy. The second article is devoted principally to an over-colored diatribe against the "Rhetoricians," the line of Irish patriots from Swift downwards, and against all but a small number of those who now speak in the name of Irish nationalism. It especially emphasizes present differences, not only such as existed before the "Parnell split" between Nationalists and Orangemen, and which have since widened between Nationalist and Independent, but those which from one cause or another exist among Nationalists themselves. It would be easy to explain how all these differences have arisen, as differences arise in every country and almost every party. The length of the contest, the heart-sickening of hope deferred, the sufferings endured, the demoralization of the present idle life in Parliament, are almost enough in themselves to cause bickerings.

In whatever direction we turn our gaze, the outlook is clouded and uncertain. At no period, perhaps, were there a larger number of people at home and abroad more sincerely anxious to serve Ireland, more fully prepared to spend and be spent for her regeneration. Yet everything appears for the time at cross purposes. If Irishmen at home and abroad avail themselves of present discouragements and differences as excuses for slackening in the struggle for home rule, the results will be disastrous. If, seeing beyond these complications, they support a reasonable policy, the present deadlock will prove to be only a phase in a long course of conjunctures all pointing towards one inevitable solution. D. B.

VAILLANT, SOCIALISM AND MILITARISM.

PARIS, December 22, 1893.

WHEN the new French Chamber met, it was difficult to know exactly what its character would be. One thing was certain: the monarchical group, Royalists and Bonapartists together, which numbered as much as 150 in the last Chamber, had been reduced to about fifty. But the republican majority was composed of very heterogeneous elements: it embraced the Opportunists, the more or less conservative Republicans, the more or less advanced Radicals, and with them a large number of socialists. In the first discussions which took place in the Chamber, there was a split in this republican majority. M. Dupuy resigned almost immediately after the meeting of the Chamber, and was replaced by M. Casimir-Perier, the grandson of the Perier who was a minister of Louis Philippe. M. Casimir-Perier asked for a vote of confidence, and obtained it only by the help of the Right; he became the protégé of the monarchists. He saw 200 republicans on his side, and 200 republicans (I speak in round numbers) against him.

The reason of this division was obvious: M. Dupuy, and after him M. Casimir-Perier, had declared themselves in favor of a homogeneous cabinet and against the policy which has taken the name of concentration, by which word was meant the coalition of all the republican groups, whatever their ideas and doctrines might be on the most important subjects, and the representation of all these groups in the cabinet. The policy of concentration had great defects: it rendered all serious legislative work next to impossible; but it had also great merits in the eyes of our politicians. Thirty or forty deputies had nothing to do but to form a "group," which consisted merely in naming a president and a board, in meeting and dining together, in having a paper, generally without subscribers but kept up by the aid of the class of financiers who became so conspicuous in the Panama trial. "Je marche, donc je suis," said the group, and the group helped to make and unmake cabinets, and its leader, unknown yesterday, had a good chance of obtaining a seat in case of a readjustment or a reorganization of an administration.

"Concentration" was invented by M. Thiers after the 16th of May, when he made up his electoral lists from the 363 deputies, without an exception, who were hostile to Marshal MacMahon. It continued so long as there was any danger of a restoration; it survived Gambetta, Ferry; it served against Boulanger; but when the republican form of government and the Constitution had ceased to be in question, it became very obnoxious to the country. There were no real parties in the Chamber founded on principles; the groups formed and reformed perpetually; all questions became personal questions. A sort of crusade began against this policy after the last elections. Casimir-Perier was notoriously among those who favored a new policy. His début was not fortunate; all ambitions were visibly ready to conspire against a man who would give no hope to any group, and who spoke of forming a homogeneous administration. His cabinet seemed lost as soon as it was formed; it was saved by the most unforeseen event. The bomb thrown by Vaillant in the Chamber had the effect which no reasoning, no eloquence could have had. The Chamber had hitherto been trying to understand itself; now it found itself, it became conscious. A majority, an overwhelming majority, has been found in favor of the new Administration; the groups have disappeared, at least for the present; the Chamber has obeyed the elementary law of self-preservation, "Primum vivere, deinde politicari."

The Government has asked the Chamber to furnish it with certain indispensable arms against the anarchists, and has introduced four bills, which have been voted with extraordinary haste, after hardly any discussion. All associations formed for the committal of crimes against life and property are to be unlawful; all understanding with the members of such associations will be equally punishable by law, as well as all public apology by means of newspapers or of public meetings. A large supplementary credit for the increase of the police has been placed at the disposal of the Government. Public opinion has fully endorsed all these measures; it feels that a real war has begun against all social institutions. All the reasonings in the world, all the teachings of political economy, are of no avail with people who have invented the new system of propagandism—what they call propagandism *par le fait*, by facts; that is to say, by crimes.

Socialism is no longer what it was in the days of 1848; it has completely transformed itself. Ideas are like the rays of light which take the color of the transparent medium; socialistic ideas, which in the higher classes assume sometimes a religious, sometimes a philosophical, character, become deformed when they penetrate the lowest classes of the population. We have seen in our time, especially in the past twenty years, an extraordinary development of socialism. We have in France what is called Christian socialism, preached by men like M. de Mun; we have the Tolstoian school, which began with admiration of 'War and Peace' and the other beautiful novels of the great Russian writer, and which ended in the sort of primitive Christianity which is now preached by Tolstoi, and which is the negation of personal property and of personal rights. We have read a Papal encyclical under the title of "De conditione opificum." Emperors and kings have spoken of the duties of society toward the workingman. Our politicians have made promises of all sorts to the wage-earning classes; irreligion has worked side by side with religion: those who denied to the poor a future life promised him the kingdoms of the earth.

Under all these influences, is it much to be wondered at if the workingman has conceived hopes which cannot well be satisfied? Disappointment has thrown a bridge between socialism and anarchism. In the famous monologue of Cinna, Augustus speaks of these men:

> "chargés de dettes et de crimes,
> Que pressent de mes lois les ordres légitimes,
> Et qui, désespérant de les plus éviter,
> Si tout n'est renversé, ne sauraient subsister."

Maxime Du Camp has well described this class of men, which is always found in great capitals. They were the men who made the Commune after the war of 1870; they now have taken anarchy for their cry, and they place themselves at the head of the advanced socialists.

The danger of socialism has probably been increased by the militarism which is the order of the day in Europe. In countries where military service has become an obligation, and where every man is called to his regiment first for two or three years, and afterwards from time to time for various periods till he is forty-five years of age, it is not surprising that the individual expects much from the State; the State claims from him services which it must repay. The "droit de travail" which was preached by Louis Blanc at the Luxembourg in 1848, seemed a paradox at the time; it seems now almost an axiom to the workingman. Militarism has another effect: it depletes all European nations, and in this way creates increasing poverty, and poverty is the perpetual theme of all socialists. Italy might have lived happy and contented if she had kept out of the combinations (what the Germans call the constellations) of the great powers. She entered the Triple Alliance, and condemned herself to expenses which are too large for her financial capacity; she begins now to pay the price of her ambition, and is passing through a most dangerous crisis. The great men who achieved Italian unity are gone; her parliamentary personnel is very mediocre. Crispi has again been called to power, as he is considered the

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only strong man of the Parliament; he is very clever and very versatile, but one hardly sees how he can detach Italy from the bonds of the Triple Alliance; he can only ask the Italian people to pay new taxes, and taxation has already become almost intolerable in Italy.

The finances of France are not in danger, but they preoccupy all who think of the future. Certainly the resources of France are immense, but they are not inexhaustible. France has one great advantage: her debt is held almost entirely at home; she is not under the necessity of buying gold in order to pay her foreign creditors. In this respect she has a great superiority over Italy, as an immense part of the Italian debt is in French or German hands. France has another advantage: she is a producer of wine, and sells much of it in various countries; she exports, besides, many manufactured articles; as a rule she is almost, with regard to foreign nations, in the position, not of a debtor, but of a creditor. She therefore bears no losses from exchange. This said, we must add that her debt is increasing in an alarming way. M. Boulanger, a Senator, who some time ago made a report on our finances, showed that the funded debt of France alone was equal to the united funded debts of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. England, alarmed at the prospect of a combination of the Russian and the French fleets in the Mediterranean, is going to vote again large sums for the increase of her already powerful navy. The navies of Italy, of Germany, of France have absorbed enormous sums of late years. Surely, if the old maxim, "Si vis pacem, para bellum," is true, peace was never better assured; but it is difficult to imagine how the perpetuation of armaments will secure for ever the continuation of peace, and on the other hand to imagine anything more absurd than the perpetuation of armaments which are to remain useless.

HABEMUS PONTIFICEM.

ITALY, December 16, 1893.

CRISPI is again at the helm! Zanardelli was unsuccessful in forming a cabinet, owing to the diversity of opinion on the financial question. Saracco and Sonnino, members of the Centre, declined to join him, and the King naturally felt that it would be impossible to accept a ministry without a minister of finance. Then occurred another incident. Zanardelli had chosen for minister of foreign affairs Oreste Baratieri, a native of Trent, who had formed part of the expedition of the Thousand (1860), is now a general in the Italian army and governor of Eritrea. Baratieri accepted, but, on the eve of the completion of the ministry, suddenly declined. This was a singular proceeding, as the King had manifested his approval of Zanardelli's choice. It is said that the Austrian ambassador protested—this again is denied—and there will be an interpellation in the House on the subject. This was the last drop in the cup. Zanardelli informed the King that he must decline further attempts to form a ministry. The King summoned Farini, president of the Senate, who, refusing to attempt to form a ministry himself, advised the King to summon Crispi, and so he did on the day of his arrival from Naples.

Even Crispi has found immense obstacles, owing entirely to the financial difficulties, as he was resolved to allow no question of party or of persons to influence him in his choice of men whose characters and abilities might insure a strong ministry. He had interviews with Rudini, the prime minister who succeeded him in 1891, but they came to little save that Rudini gave promise of support. Then he summoned Nicotera, and all old quarrels were made up. Nicotera, who is one of the most generous and patriotic of men, promised his support to his old friend and fellow-conspirator without making any claim for the admission of his friends to the ministry. Crispi had also long interviews with Signor Colajanni, the Sicilian republican socialist, who first called the attention of the House to the banking scandals, and who has now written a really wonderful book entitled 'The Banks and the Government.' He was the most formidable opponent of Crispi during his late cabinet, but, being first of all a patriot, then a Sicilian, accepted the interview, and expounded his views on the best measures to secure the pacification of Sicily. Saracco and Sonnino accepted, the former the department of public works, the latter that of the treasury. It was hoped that Perazzi, Sella's *alter ego*, would accept the department of finance, but he did not see his way clear, so Sonnino has that also in the interim. Great difficulty was experienced in finding a minister of foreign affairs, but at last Baron Alberto Blanc accepted the office, and seems to be generally acceptable, even to France. Similar difficulties occurred in securing a fitting minister of war, and it is in the war budget that all the difficulties originate. The King deprecates any reduction in the budgets of the army and navy, whereas all the real authorities on finance maintain that, without this reduction, no real equilibrium between expenditure and income can be attained. Gen. Ricotti, in a letter to the *Opinione*, affirms that eighty millions must be found immediately, and that before burdening the country with fresh taxes, forty millions of economy must be effected in the various budgets, commencing with twenty millions in the War and Navy Department. And it is the opinion of this veteran general and exminister that the war budget might be reduced from 246 to 232 millions by modifying the organization of the army. "If," he writes, "we persist in maintaining twelve army corps, not only are economies impossible, but other fifteen millions must be found; and an army with ten army corps thoroughly efficient would be stronger than an army with twelve army corps which cannot be rendered efficient without the aforesaid addition to the budget." Gen. Ricotti affirms that he felt the courage to undertake the reduction and to effect the economy of fourteen millions, but that Crispi, on hearing his proposals, did not invite him to become minister of war. This letter is much commented on by the partisans of partial disarmament, whereas the champions of an "Italy powerful by land and on sea" approve Crispi for declining as a colleague a minister who "felt the courage" to reduce the number of army corps. The actual minister of war, Gen. Stanislao Mocenni, is a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and is credited with the intention of effecting economy in the war budget without reducing the corps.

Prof. Guido Baccelli is hailed with delight by the university students as minister of education. Crispi first summoned Carducci, who went to Rome and gave his opinions on the difficult questions to be resolved. He would not in any case accept office unless allowed to revolutionize the entire system of public instruction as it exists to-day, beginning with the reduction by one-half of the existing universities. This was the intention of the late minister Ferdinand Martini, but the presentation of the bill was received with such a howl of execration by the provinces to be decapitated that he shelved it at once. Carducci assuredly would not do so, but would resign instanter if prevented from carrying out all the reforms that he believed necessary. In any case it is a relief to all who admire the poet and the sturdy citizen-professor, that he is not caught in the ministerial machine, whose wheels would have lacerated brain, mind, and heart. As a Senator, he will continue to propound his ideas as to educational reform—a reform which every citizen of the United States will agree to be urgent when they consider that, with 61 per cent. of *analfabeti*, out of thirty-six millions spent for education by the State only eight millions is allotted to primary instruction, the secondary and higher absorbing the rest, and the universities alone costing the nation ten millions.

Signor Boselli, minister of public instruction under Depretis, has taken the Department of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce. The whole country is agitating for a repeal of the late banking law passed at the imperious bidding of Signor Giolitti, which is held responsible for the numerous and heavy failures or suspensions of some of the largest banks. Among these we regret to see that of Maquay & Hooker, so long regarded by the large American and English population as "safe as the Bank of England." The stoppage of the popular Bank of Genoa is also a sad disaster. It is said that at the opening of the Chambers there will be a tail to the bank-scandal revelations. The private accounts of Tanlongo, the late director of the Roman Bank, now extinct, have been given to the public, and they certainly are not edifying reading. Letters are published of which one at least proves that when Depretis was minister, and the abolition of the compulsory circulation of paper money was the question of the day, several members of the ministry instructed Tanlongo to bring the *rente* up to a certain figure, now 91, now 92, then to *par*, promising that the Government would make good all losses. Minghetti and Sella were on intimate terms with Tanlongo, praising his efforts to "help his country," seemingly forgetful that the business of a bank director is to protect the interests of the bank and of the shareholders, with whose deposits he has no right to play ducks and drakes even for patriotic purposes. Nothing, therefore, can be gained by further touching pitch, and there is a chance that Crispi may have sufficient influence to prevent at least the time of the House being wasted in discussing matters which, at this period of the affair, can be properly sifted only in a court of justice. I refer to the matter simply to show how involved is the situation, and what courage and skill are needed to extricate the country from the rocks and shoals and quicksands on which inexpert helmsmen have allowed the frail bark to drift.

And when all these difficulties are enumerated, the greatest and most urgent remains—that is, the pacification of Sicily. Since I wrote last, two fresh rebellions have broken out in the province of Palermo. At Partinico the people protested against the intolerable taxation—the poll tax; the tax on beasts of burden; the tax on flour. Their remonstrances were unheeded, nay, scoffed at. Then they surrounded the municipality, burned the tax rolls, and committed other misdemeanors. Fortunately, the president and other members of the much calumniated *fasci* succeeded in preventing bloodshed, remonstrating with the enraged populace, reminding them that, in the municipal council, at least three members were

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chosen by themselves to protect their interests; and with equal good fortune the troops did not intervene. But at Giardinelli, a little commune close to Palermo, a far more serious riot occurred. The people clamored for the abolition of certain taxes; the syndic refused to entertain the proposal. The people went in procession, a woman carrying the portrait of King Humbert at its head. Disorders were committed, as at Partinico—tax-rolls and other documents burned. But one carbineer was in the place; he summoned the military, and, how or why no one seems able to explain, without warning, without the three trumpet-blasts which would amount to reading the riot act, shots were fired and eight victims fell—first of all the woman carrying the King's portrait—while other seven were seriously wounded. The troops retreated to a tower outside the village, not one of them being injured. The lieutenant who was in command affirms that he gave the order *not* to fire. The post-mortem examination of the bodies proves that different bullets were used. Many of the spectators affirm that the first shots were fired from the private house of the syndic. Of course there is an "inquiry," but inquiries have been made after all the disorders, and, as Colajanni stated yesterday, "in eleven months, twenty-five Sicilian citizens have been killed and more than a hundred wounded, while not a single Government agent has been punished." This is an ugly record for the Giolitti ministry, and Senator Cordova's letter may pass for its epitaph:

"In October I wrote from my unhappy land to the competent authorities, praying that the white cross of Savoy might not be steeped in blood. I received thanks and promises; but what are words worth when not followed up by deeds, when affairs are allowed to take their course down the slope of Mussulman fatality that has no rival in history? Misery, neglect, suffering—these are the three garlands which encircle the brow of the victors of Palermo and of Milazzo, abandoned to the tender mercies of a communal and provincial oligarchy whose impudent peculations are safeguarded by the protectorate of the clients in high places with the complicity of the prefects?"

Yesterday it was Senator Villari, to-day Senator Cordova, who stigmatizes the conduct of the governments and of their agents. Now all the hopes of the Sicilians are centred in "Don Ciccio," as they familiarly call Crispi. Sidney Sonnino, who is at the Treasury and *pro tem.* holds the portfolio of finance, was the first exponent of the wants and woes of Sicily in 1876; and quite recently, as private deputy, presented a bill for the adjustment of contracts between proprietors and farmers. But the bill savors too much of the Irish land-bills without touching the absentee proprietors. These must be reached if agriculture and agriculturists are to be saved from utter ruin. Crispi knows that two and two make four and not five. To save the country, he must restore the people to the land, and the land to the people; he must deal with a high hand in all questions relating to the land. He must ordain an inspection of the municipal administrations, especially in the matter of *dazio consumo*. Think of a city like Palermo, where more than half the population are either without any regular calling, or who live from hand to mouth, never eating a breakfast till they have earned it, and who yet pay nine millions in taxes on food. Think of the fact that, while articles of luxury have yielded less by half a million than in former years because the administration is, to draw it mild, defective—because smuggling is rife—flour has yielded 35,000 lire above the average; flour being taxed at the rate of 8 per cent. besides the Government custom-house tax. Think that, while the sanitary works are suspended for want of funds, 75,000 lire were voted for the theatrical company which comes to divert the wealthy classes, and these alone, as no workingman can afford a ticket for the theatres there. And now comes the municipal crisis at Palermo, precisely on account of the budget—another complication while half the communes in the island are under royal commissaries.

Of course there are not wanting numbers who assert that the resolution of the late crisis by the King was unconstitutional. This is untrue, but it was *unusual*. The King did "choose his own minister," and stands by his choice; and if Crispi should assume certain powers which will bring down on him the epithets of "dictator," of "Bismarck in miniature," the King must uphold him still, granting him power if needed to dissolve the House and appeal to the country in word and in deed; otherwise Mazzini's prophecy may be fulfilled, and Crispi may become the last minister of monarchy in Italy. J. W. M.

Correspondence.

SUUM CUIQUE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your last issue Senator Proctor's bill for the annexation of Utah to Nevada is mentioned with praise. The same plan was embodied in a bill introduced by Mr. Oates of Alabama in the House of Representatives very early in the extra session.

In your remarks on the vote for extra mileage, it is not fair to give the discredit of it entirely to the Democrats. It was opposed by several prominent members on that side of the House, notably Mr. Sayers of Texas, the present, and Mr. Holman of Indiana, the former, Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations. No opposition appeared from the Republican side, that party preferring to let the Democrats fight it out among themselves. What is least creditable, the opponents of the measure were refused the right to go on record by a call of the yeas and nays. Among those who voted against additional mileage in the House were Mr. Wilson of West Virginia and Mr. Powers of Vermont, among the most distinguished of their respective sides. The vote in the Senate stood 41 to 12, the opposition showing very prominent Democrats such as Mr. Mills as well as Republicans.

Yours respectfully, William Everett.

Quincy, Mass., December 31, 1893.

ANTI-ROMANIST FOLLY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Letters in Nos. 1480 and 1482 of the *Nation* from Mr. Alexander Milne of Columbus, Ohio, suggest the idea that readers who are interested in the growth of the American Protective Association may wish to know the part that organization has been playing in recent elections in Chicago.

Before the November election for judges of the courts of Cook County, the Association issued a circular giving in parallel columns the names of the candidates of the two leading parties, with asterisks, calling attention to certain nominees termed "Romanists" in the foot-note. These circulars seem to have been widely distributed in a quiet manner by the members and friends of the society. A careful study of the tabulated vote, however, reveals the fact that only a few hundred citizens were influenced by this appeal to prejudice, and that no judicial candidate owes his defeat to it—this in spite of the fact that the contest was close, one Democrat and eight Republicans being elected. The Republican who was defeated was not opposed by the A. P. A., and the Democrats who were so opposed did not run behind their colleagues to any material extent. The one Republican who was marked for defeat was successful with the rest of his ticket, with the exception noted.

The special election of December 19 for a mayor to succeed the late Carter H. Harrison gave the Association an opportunity to present a clear issue to its sympathizers. It apparently embraced the occasion, for circulars were distributed not only from hand to hand as heretofore, but even in some churches on the Sunday before the election. The following is a copy of the card:

CANDIDATES TO BE VOTED FOR DEC. 19, 1893.
Geo. B. Swift, Protestant.
John P. Hopkins, Romanist.

No one could be found who would admit having authorized this electioneering device, the campaign committees being particularly eager to disavow such action; but with many the A. P. A. received credit for the publication, and that was doubtless the source from which it emanated. The response of the people in electing Mr. Hopkins, a young man of great promise, reassures those who hope for the speedy extinction of the religious issue in American politics.

The rancorous nature of the A. P. A.'s opposition is well illustrated by the resolutions currently reported in the Western press to have been adopted by a Denver (Colorado) society upon the occasion of a recreant member appointing a Catholic to office. The resolutions conclude as follows:

"Resolved, That a likeness of said traitor, with a copy of these resolutions duly certified, be sent to each and every supreme council, supreme lodge, supreme camp, and grand commandery within the jurisdiction of the United States, as well as to each local council within the jurisdiction of the State, with the request that the same be read and that the name of 'Marion D. Van Horne, traitor and perjurer,' be proclaimed three times at each of four consecutive regular meetings of such councils.

"Resolved, further, That a photograph or likeness of said traitor be prepared bearing across the breast of said likeness a Roman cross painted thereon, surmounted by the word 'Traitor,' said likeness to be draped in black and hung in our council chamber; be it

"Resolved, further, That all communication, socially or otherwise, with said traitor and perjurer by any member of this order do now for ever cease; that in his joys or in his sorrows, in his hopes or in his disappointments, awake or asleep, in health or in sickness, at his fireside or with his fellow-men, we ask Providence to grant one faint ray of conscience to quicken his Plutonian soul so that he may see himself as others see him; be it

"Resolved, further, That when his carcass reposes in the arms of Mother Earth, in whatsoever land, an unknown committee, duly appointed, shall perform its last rite in the name of this council by marking the place so all may know: 'Here lies a traitor.'"—*Chicago Record, October 21, 1893.*

L. F. E.

Chicago, December 22, 1893.

THINGS CHINESE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your notice of 'Things Chinese' on page 475 of your issue of December 21 you naturally take exception to the use of this plan

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of book without acknowledgment to Prof. Chamberlain, the author of 'Things Japanese.' In justice to the author of the former work it should be stated that this apparent discourtesy is probably the fault of the American publisher; for in the writer's edition, issued by Sampson Low, Marston & Co., the following occurs in the preface:

"On the appearance of 'Things Japanese' it was suggested to the author that he should prepare a book on similar lines with regard to Chinese subjects, and the present volume is the result. His thanks are due to B. H. Chamberlain, Esquire, for the courtesy and kindness which accorded a ready assent to the request that the classification and plan of arrangement used in 'Things Japanese' might be copied in 'Things Chinese' as far as was compatible with the subject-matter of the latter."

Yours, C. A. B.

Boston, December 25, 1893.

THE UNDERSTATEMENT OF "GUESS."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The remarks of "F. H.," in your last issue, on the Yankee use of the word "guess" to "imply a positive certainty," have renewed a long-standing wonder that no writer, so far as I know, not even Lowell, has mentioned a possible, and, to my mind, the most natural, explanation of that use. One of the simplest rhetorical devices, and one particularly congenial to sententious and satirical peoples like the ancient Romans and the modern Yankees, is that of ironical understatement. Thus, when a Yankee is asked a question the answer to which appears to him absurdly obvious, he naturally replies by a sarcastic affectation of ignorance. If, loaded down with bundles and looking utterly dragged out, I am greeted with a cheerful inquiry "whether I feel tired," I answer not with the courteous and reflective "I think I do," but with the ironical "I rather think I do," or, being a Yankee, "I guess I do."

The case is exactly parallel with the common use of the conditional mood, in such phrases as "I should think so!" when what is really implied is a most emphatic indicative. Why should one of these uses be branded as more of a solecism than the other? L. W. H.

December 29, 1893.

Notes.

Macmillan & Co. announce as nearly ready Mrs. J. R. Green's 'Town Life in the 15th Century,' and as in preparation 'The Dawn of Astronomy,' by J. Norman Lockyer, with numerous illustrations.

Ginn & Co. will issue next month 'First Lessons in Civil Government,' by Jesse Macy, a work for young children.

Henry S. Morais, No. 546 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia, is about to issue to subscribers 'The Jews of Philadelphia: Their History from the Earliest Settlements to the Present Time.'

The Schulte Publishing Co., Chicago, will publish in an illustrated imperial octavo volume the papers read before the recent International Congress of Anthropology.

'Heinrich Heine's Life Told in His Own Words' is the title which Mr. Arthur Dexter has given to his translation, just published by Henry Holt & Co., of Gustav Karpeles's well-known 'Heine's Autobiographie.' As Heine did not himself select the material of which this book is composed, the change of title seems very appropriate indeed. To those familiar with Heine's writings the book offers little that is new, as it consists almost exclusively of passages taken from his collected works, arranged in chronological order. To those, however, who wish to have put before them in a compact and authentic form Heine's estimate of himself, nothing could be more useful than this volume. The translation, at least of the prose part, is of a high order of excellence. As for the poetical passages, it would be hard to recognize

"Die frommen klugen Gazelln"

in

"The gazelles, in their innocent cunning";

or

"Die Kleine, die Feine, die Reine, die Eine"

in

"My pet, my darling, my dainty, my own."

But one ought not to be too harsh with one who dares to translate Heine.

It might easily be believed that an educated and travelled Spaniard would have something to say worth our while to make a note of in such a book as 'Costumbres Yankees; Viajes por la América del Norte'; but, alas! its author, José Sanchez Somoano, brought so little intellectual baggage, and owns a pair of eyes so far from achromatic, that his little book is almost barren of interest. For one thing he has a prodigious talent, and that is a laborious misunderstanding of what he has seen or read. One of his most brilliant achievements of that sort is the following account of the origin of Boston Common: "A great philanthropist, named Common, had the happy idea of presenting the children of Boston with a leafy grove of great trees" (p. 186).

A translation of Arrian's 'Anabasis of Alexander' and 'Indica,' by Edward James Chinnock, M.A., LL.D. (London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan), has just been issued in the revised series of Bohn's Library. It is a serviceable work, executed with care and following the original with sufficient closeness and accuracy. The notes, geographical and historical, furnish the intelligent reader with a guide to the itinerary of Alexander and to the chief sources of his history. Several maps add to the usefulness of a volume which, while not conceived on the scale and standard of Mr. Dakyns's 'Xenophon,' for instance, is praiseworthy in its execution. The value of the work would be greatly increased by a detailed index of names and places.

The eighth book of Thucydides, by H. C. Goodhart, professor in Edinburgh University (Macmillan), is a piece of minute and careful scholarship, especially dwelling on points of grammatical construction and interpretation, resuming the labors of preceding editors, and adding some independent studies of the manuscript authority and the historical questions connected with this part of the history. Among these is an able discussion of the relation of Thucydides's narrative of the revolution of 411 B. C. to the account given in Aristotle's 'Athenian Constitution.'

Karl Gjellerup, the Danish translator of several of Wagner's librettos and the author of a very suggestive work on the great master, has recently translated into Danish verse the sacred songs of the Older Edda, the second instalment of which has already appeared in Copenhagen. Apart from the scholarly rendering of difficult passages and the successful reproduction of the spirit of the original, this latest contribution to Eddic literature is of interest on account of the numerous illustrations by the Danish artist Lorenz Frölich, who vies with the poet in his enthusiasm for the old Northern life. A careful and sympathetic English rendering of the original with these Danish pictures would be sure of a hearty welcome both in this country and in England.

The two volumes of *St. Nicholas* for 1893 (Century Co.) afford the variety of interest for all sorts and conditions of children which has come to be associated with that magazine. The longer serials take their color from adventure, the marvellous, and from practical life; there are articles on several of the leading American cities, on ship-building and sea-fighting, ancient and modern; short tales of boating and fishing and hunting; poems in plenty, with Whittier to lead off, and an abundance of comicalities that are often very insinuating.

Harper's Young People for 1893 exhibits no change referable to the loss of its former editor, Mr. Starey. It still addresses the older children, who are generally treated very much as adults by writers (like W. Hamilton Gibson, Harriet Prescott Spofford, Lieut. Peary, etc.) whose proper audience is adult. Athletics are, as the fashion of the day goes, not unduly celebrated. The Chicago Fair and the Columbian exercises, of course, have their share of attention, and here and there one may find other reflections of what is passing in the outer world. Among the illustrations, Mr. Peter Newell's facetiæ hold the first place for originality and humor.

The principal article in the *Geographical Journal* for December is a survey, by Mr. C. R. Markham, of those regions of the earth which are still unexplored. He begins with the Polar areas as containing the most extensive unknown tracts, incidentally saying that in his opinion the argument on which Nansen's "proceedings are based is sound." In the Old World the western Sudan and southern Arabia are the largest and most important countries awaiting explorers, while in this hemisphere he asserts that over one-fourth of the Dominion of Canada is "entirely unknown," as well as an enormous tract in Colombia. In referring to the condition of our own country, he remarks that "the United States Coast Survey is a monument of rigorous accuracy." Mr. W. Astor Chanler gives a too brief account of a visit made to an interesting tribe, apparently of Somali extraction, which he calls the Rendile. Although "they had never even heard of Europeans," they were clothed in heavy American sheeting. They possess immense herds of camels and sheep, and live in villages, each ruled by a chief who is elected and holds office for life. "They never elect a rich or powerful man, but some poor peasant fellow." The expedition appears to be nearly stranded for want of pack animals and porters, and Mr. Chanler's companion, Lieut. von Höhnel, having been severely wounded by a rhinoceros, has been obliged to return to the coast. The map of the number is of the Anglo-Portuguese boundary in East Africa, constructed by the British section of the boundary commission. From the accompanying geographical notes it appears that a large part of the region through which the boundary line passes is practically uninhabited.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for December contains an interesting address by Lord Roberts on India, past and present. The most striking part is that relating to the Mutiny, of which he gives some personal reminiscences, though he sheds no new light on its causes. In closing he strongly defends the present Afghan policy, arguing that, under the present circumstances, Lord Lawrence, the great advocate of "masterly inactivity," would approve of what has been and is being done on the northwestern frontier. An interesting series of historical maps show the

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growth of the empire from 1760 to 1893. Another map shows the advance of Russia since 1857. In the geographical notes a strange error for a scientific journal is made in the statement that "in March last two French scientists, MM. Hermite and Besançon, ascended from Vaugirard" to a height of 52,480 feet, where the minimum temperature was —60° F., and remained several hours. The balloon, in fact, contained nothing but some automatically registering instruments.

The article of most general interest in the current number of the *Annales de Géographie* is M. Maistre's account of his expedition from the Congo to the Niger. He confirms the statement of other travellers as to the spread of Mohammedanism in this part of the Sudan and of its elevating effect upon the people. In describing a partial ascent of Ararat, M. Chantre calls attention to the remarkably rapid absorption of the water from the melting snow, and suggests the existence of a vast subterranean reservoir. Only three springs are to be found upon the mountain, and the neighboring plain is uninhabitable in summer from want of water. There are also articles upon the lakes of Jura and on Brittany, together with geographical notes and correspondence. A valuable map, with an accompanying explanatory text, shows the distribution of animals throughout the world, and a useful map of Africa gives its present political divisions. It is interesting to note that the French claim the northwestern shore of Lake Tchad.

The recent smallpox epidemic in Norway has attracted increased attention to this disease throughout the North. Of the many discussions of the subject, one of the most interesting is a series of papers in a Danish medical journal on the influence of light on the skin, with special reference to its use in the treatment of skin diseases. As long ago as 1300 the English court physician, Gaddesden (the Gatesden of Chaucer's Prologue), reported the results of his experience in surrounding the smallpox patient's bed with red curtains, adding that by following this method he cured the king's son without leaving any marks. For many hundred years this treatment was followed throughout Europe, and as late as the seventeenth century it received additional confirmation from the great Danish physician and scientist, Thomas Bartholin. Later it was contemptuously put aside by the medical men of a more enlightened age as a foolish error of the past. Its modern revival comes from Bergen, Norway, one of whose hospital physicians makes report not dissimilar in its main results to old Gaddesden's of 600 years ago.

Among the recent evidences of the progress of Western ideas in the East is the formation of the Bengal Academy. Its chief object is to develop Bengali as a prose literary language by the compilation of an authoritative dictionary, which shall define, consolidate, and purify the written dialect. It also aims to secure the "scientific criticism of Bengali style and grammatical structure, the discussion of Bengali works, and a collection of biographies of Bengali authors." The first great impulse to vernacular composition in this language was given by the movement for widow remarriage in 1854. Previous to this time its literature consisted of a few poems and ballads; now, one of its enthusiastic admirers asserts that, "apart from ephemeral and worthless productions," Bengali literature contains about 700 works. "Of these, 450 are dramas or works of fiction, 20 are histories, and 50 are philosophical or scientific treatises." The rules of the Academy, says a writer in the London *Times*, "are conceived in a practical and modest spirit." And he adds: "There is something that must appeal to scholars and men of letters of all nations in this quiet and carefully planned effort to give form and consistency to one of the new literary languages of the world."

Sir William Dawson of McGill College, Montreal, has lately published an essay on the Canadian Ice Age, which, as the author admits, may be classed with Howorth's 'Glacial Nightmare.' It is an ardent presentation of obsolescent views, in which land ice-sheets are restricted far below the extension now generally allowed them, and in which floating ice is held accountable for a great part of the glacial deposits in northeastern America. Those who are sceptical about glacial theories will take much comfort in this book, in which the learned author objects to what he calls "the rough-and-ready method employed by so many of his juniors." On the other hand, those who have slowly approached a general understanding of the conditions of glaciation by a close examination of the drift deposits of Canada and the northern United States, and who recognize great glacial extension across the international boundary, as well as a certain amount of marine and lacustrine iceberg action, will here find little to disturb their views.

Prof. J. W. Spencer, State Geologist of Georgia, has recently issued a report on the palæozoic rocks of that State under the heading of the 'Geology of the Ten Counties of Northwestern Georgia' (Atlanta, 1893). Little work of finished quality has hitherto been done in Georgia; the present volume is much more detailed in its discussion of the structure and resources of the northwestern part of the State than any heretofore issued. It opens with a general geological description of the region, which is followed by local county reports. Then come an account of the economic resources, chiefly iron and coal, and a chapter on roads, with the relation of their construction to the supply of stone or brick-making clay. The latter should attract general interest in a region where the roads are so much in need of improvement.

With the sections for Hanover, Stuttgart, and Munich the fine publication, Dr. C. Vogel's Map of the German Empire, is brought to a close (Gotha: Perthes; New York: Westermann). The fourteen parts can now be bound up together, and most subscribers will not fail to possess themselves of the index of names, which is issued separately for three marks. The work is a very valuable addition to patriotic and scholarly resources.

The Christmas number of *Light and Shade* is wholly given up to a commemoration of the Columbian Exposition in photogravures of varied tints, from many unusual points of view.

The *Photographic Times* for December 22 contains the only sort of general view of Philadelphia possible from the nature of its site, viz., from a balloon. It is very effective.

—The contents of the *Atlantic* for January are varied, though by no means of absorbing interest. Mrs. Deland begins a new novel, and Charles Egbert Craddock continues the monotonous course of "His Vanished Star"; there are biographical sketches of Admiral Howe and the late Gen. Armstrong, and ten letters which Coleridge wrote to Southey in his usual vein, just after his own return from Germany. Most worthy of discussion, however, is a single point in Prof. Shaler's somewhat too elaborate article on the transmission of learning through universities, with regard to the character of the instruction which should be given in scientific and technical schools. Just what that should be is one of the most important, though least debated, problems which modern educators have, by theory and by experiment, yet to solve. The extremely rapid growth of such schools during the few years they have been in existence shows the astonishingly large class of young men from which they draw. The greater part of *Scribner's* is a rethreshing of old straw. Mr. Crawford concludes his excellently illustrated account of Constantinople, Mr. Hamerton writes briefly on Édouard Manet, and Mr. R. C. Winthrop on Webster's reply to Hayne and the way in which Webster was accustomed to prepare his speeches for delivery and for publication. It is comforting to find at last in a popular article on the Israelites in Egypt the statement that the "monuments and papyri of Egypt, so far as at present explored, are absolutely silent about the history of the Israelites while in Egypt and about the manner in which they left it."

—The collocation of articles in the current number of the *Century* is happy in the extreme. We have Mr. Cole's engravings of Franz Hals, in continuation of his series on the Dutch masters; some masterly generalizations on the function of the poet, from one of Lowell's lectures; Mr. Brander Matthews's appreciative but reserved criticism of the work of Andrew Lang; and, to take mere articles of information, a scholarly statement of the light which Assyrian literature and archæology throw on the Bible, and an interesting account of the discovery of chloroform by Sir James Simpson in 1847. In the essay last mentioned it is worth noticing that poetry was the handmaid of science, for Dr. Simpson was continually spurred on to new and sometimes reckless experiments by remembering Shakspere's "not poppy nor mandragora, nor all the drowsy syrups of the world" and similar Elizabethan references to narcotic drugs. A curious error, by the way, is that of the sonnet on Guittone d'Arezzo, whom the author calls the "Columbus of the sonnet," and represents as gay of song and life—an opinion which no one could form who had ever waded through the platitudinous wastes of this pedantic and garrulous versifier.

—The place of honor in *Harper's* is rightly given to the opening chapters of Du Maurier's new novel "Trilby," which depicts so faithfully and charmingly the studio life of long ago in Paris that it is hard to tell whether the text or the illustrations are more delightful. In addition there are the usual articles of travel. Mr. R. H. Davis concludes his series of descriptions of English life with a somewhat ill-humored criticism of English hospitality, and Mr. Weeks continues the interesting account of his Eastern travels, which would, however, be less confusing if they were provided with a map. Besides "Trilby," the most noteworthy article in the number is Dr. Griffis's statement of the extraordinary influence which the Dutch in the Old World exerted over the future colonists of New England, and the Dutch in America over their northern and eastern neighbors. In the spirit of the late Douglas Campbell, not only much of New England's commercial prosperity, not only that fertile inventiveness which is supposed to be a Yankee's birthright, but much of what little physical or mental "sweetness and light" the poor New Englanders had, is ascribed to the practical, genial, and sensible influence of the Dutch.

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—The American Psychological Association held its second meeting on December 27 and 28 at Columbia College. Papers were read on the first day by Prof. Fullerton of Philadelphia, on the "Psychological Standpoint"; by Prof. Royce of Harvard, on "The Case of John Bunyan" (an attempt to throw into the categories of modern alienism the mental perturbations of the period of insistent impulse and incipient illusion of Bunyan's early life); by Mr. H. C. Warren of Princeton, on "Experiments on Visual Memory" (showing by interesting curves the relative reliability of the memory of a large number of male and female students for simple square figures after intervals of ten, twenty, and forty minutes); by Prof. Murray of Montreal, on the question of the occurrence of tastes in dreams; and by Prof. Butler of Columbia College, on Mr. Fiske's doctrine of the "Meaning of Infancy." Prof. Cattell, Prof. Münsterberg, and Dr. Scripture gave accounts of the work done during the past year in the laboratories at Columbia, Harvard, and Yale respectively. Perhaps the most interesting item from a practical and educational point of view was the description by Prof. Münsterberg of a new device for producing stereoscopic visual effects from plane figures without any of the usual aids from mirrors or prisms. The effect is secured by throwing pictures prepared for each eye separately into the eyes in succession separately. By means of a simple rotating apparatus the ordinary zoötropic effects may be added to the stereoscopic effect. This opens up the possibility of showing by lantern slides animals, machines, etc., not only in lateral motion, but at the same time in relief, and also in motion to and from the plane of vision. This, with other of the Harvard results, as well as part of the paper of Prof. Royce on Bunyan, are to be noted in the *Psychological Review* for January. On the second day papers were read by Dr. Hyslop of Columbia, Mr. Mead of Michigan, Mr. H. R. Marshall of New York city, Dr. Scripture, Prof. Miller of Bryn Mawr, and Prof. Pace of the Catholic University at Washington. Among those who contributed to the discussions were Profs. Dewey of Michigan, James of Harvard, Strong of Chicago, and Starr of the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons. The next session is to be held during the Christmas recess 1894-95 at Princeton, with Prof. James as President and Prof. Cattell as Secretary.

—On the 5th of December the Congregation of the University of Oxford, by a majority of forty, passed a resolution in favor of establishing an honor school of English language and literature. The subject has excited a good deal of controversy in recent years as well as enthusiastic support; some elections to the Council (which alone can initiate legislation) have turned upon it, and the vote of the other day marks a change in public opinion—a minority has become a substantial majority. The broad principle now affirmed is the acceptance of English—as Modern History, Law, and Oriental Languages have previously been accepted—as a proper and adequate means for university education and training. But the supporters of the movement have not yet accomplished their end. The statute embodying the resolution has yet to be drafted, and much divergence of opinion is likely to appear as to the relative proportions of philology and literature to be required in the proposed school. It is felt, on the one hand, that a good amount of philology is essential to give the school a needful weight and to save it from being what has been described (in terms suggested by a phrase familiar at Harvard) as a "soft option," attractive mainly to the weaker students. On the other, it is urged that philologists are apt to give undue importance to their subject, to the practical exclusion of all the greatest books and writers in English since the fifteenth century. It is to be hoped that a satisfactory compromise may be arrived at, so that what is assuredly a strange omission may no longer disfigure the list of Oxford studies.

—The lively interest still felt in the Sudan is shown by the fact that 'Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp' (Scribners) has reached its "tenth, abridged, popular edition" in a year from its first publication. This is owing partly to the great interest of the personal narrative, but more especially to the fact that it has a unique historical value in being the only account which we have, or possibly can ever hope to have, by a European eye-witness of the Mahdi's rebellion from the beginning. Father Ohrwalder, a member of the Austrian mission to Kordofan, reached his station, about four hundred miles to the southwest of Khartum, in 1881, just at the outbreak of hostilities. A year later he was carried captive to the Mahdi's camp, and was present at the siege and fall of El Obeid. After a five years' slavery in or near this place, he was sent to Omdurman, the Dervish capital, a city of some one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, lying across the Nile from Khartum and built largely from its ruins. Here he was allowed some liberty, and earned his own living, at one time by soap-boiling in partnership with Lupton Bey till his death, and latterly as a ribbon-weaver. By the help of an Arab he and the two surviving Italian sisters of the mission, with a slave-girl, escaped, and, after a seven days' ride on camels, they reached the first Egyptian outpost, five hundred miles distant. In addition to the story of his own life during these eventful years, Father Ohrwalder gives a condensed history of the Mahdi movement, interspersed with pen-portraits of the principal leaders. At his first interview with the Mahdi he describes him as a "powerfully built man, of dark-brown complexion and carefully kept skin; he had a pleasant smile, which showed to advantage the curious slit between his front teeth. By constant training he had acquired a gentle manner in speaking, and with these exceptions there was nothing unusual in his appearance." The impression of him in many respects is distinctly favorable, and he seems to have treated the European captives with some consideration. Very different is his successor, the Khalifa Abdullah, whose cruel tyranny, in the father's opinion, confirmed by other testimony, would be gladly exchanged for the Egyptian rule by all his subjects except the men of his own tribe. The description of Omdurman, its government, social life, the frequent reviews and prayers at the mosque, at which sometimes one hundred thousand people are present, is very interesting. The father comments severely on Gen. Gordon's strange failure to comprehend the religious character of the revolt, and believes that his coming, from the false hopes which it raised, cost thousands of lives. His memory, however, is held in great honor in the Sudan, a common saying among the Moslems being, "Had Gordon been one of us, he would have been a perfect man." The work of translating the author's manuscript from the German has been well done by Maj. F. R. Wingate of the Egyptian army, who has also added a plan of Omdurman and a map of the eastern Sudan. A number of illustrations add to the attractiveness of this interesting, though often very painful, book.

REMBRANDT.

Rembrandt: His Life, his Work, and his Time. By Émile Michel, member of the Institute of France. From the French by Florence Simmonds. Edited by Frederick Wedmore. With 67 full-page plates and 250 text illustrations. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1894.

Saskia, the Wife of Rembrandt. By Charles Knowles Bolton. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1893.

Of all the great masters of painting none is so popular to-day as Rembrandt. No one has more influence on painters, and no one is so much written about and admired by critics. The solitary old man whose fame was already so forgotten that his death was unnoticed by his contemporaries, and whose portraits, a few years later, could be bought for "sixpence apiece," is now the god of the hour. Dozens of earnest searchers rummage in musty records to glean the slightest fact connected with his life, and books and articles without end are devoted to his memory. After three hundred years his strangely original genius is appreciated, if not understood, and long-neglected pictures are brought forth from garrets and given places of honor in great museums or sold for enormous sums to American millionaires. Among the notable signs of our interest in him is the publication of the two books under review. Of the second of them we shall have little to say, but the fact is eloquent that it is thought worth while to devote a volume entirely to Saskia because she was Rembrandt's wife. The other, with its two royal octavo volumes, splendid in fine paper and clear print, its wealth of beautiful reproductions of the master's paintings, etchings, and drawings, its careful and minute research, is still more significant.

Let us say at once that the book is admirable, and, considering what it contains, astonishingly cheap: how so much can be given for so little money is a mystery. M. Michel is one of the leading authorities on Rembrandt and his works, and has written a monumental, and, we should think, nearly definitive Life. The translation seems admirably done. We have not had an opportunity to compare it with the original, but it is everywhere clear, lucid, and idiomatic, and, where we could test it (as in the quotations from Fromentin), faithful. Mr. Wedmore's editing is discreet and useful. We wish he had told us just what plates he thought it best to suppress—possibly some of the freer subjects; those which he has added are really additions and are most welcome. Hardly too much can be said in praise of the illustrations. To compare the heliogravures after paintings with even the most admirable woodcuts is to feel at once that superior authenticity of photography which has made modern criticism possible, and the reproductions of the etchings give nearly everything except that wonderful quality of the etched line which nothing can reproduce. A special feature of this publication is the number and prominence of the reproductions of drawings and sketches, those immediate records of the artist's moods and feelings, struck off at white heat, which often give surer revelation of his mind and heart than his more finished productions. We have only to suggest that in preparing these volumes for publication in this country it would have been as well to translate the prices,

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which are given in florins, francs, and pounds, but never in dollars, and to lament the absence of a fuller index. There are catalogues of paintings, drawings, and etchings, a bibliography, and an index of proper names, and, of course, a table of contents and a list of illustrations, and the strict chronological order of the text makes reference fairly easy; but all this is not always sufficient. References from the text to the illustration are rare, and from the illustration to the text non-existent, and many of the illustrations are widely separated from the passage in the text that refers to them. As an instance take the "Rembrandt leaning on a stone sill." The plate is at page 211 of the second volume. The date of the etching is 1639, which would naturally bring the text referring to it somewhere in the latter part of vol. i. When the illustration was reached, we tried to turn back to the passage in the text for verification, but have not yet been able to find it.

A Life of Rembrandt reads much like a Life of Shakspere. Really next to nothing is known about it, and the elaborate investigations undertaken of late years have served more to destroy legends formerly believed than to add much of authentic information. "Possibly" and "perhaps" are the ever-recurring words, and we are more often told that he may, might, could, would, or should have done or felt this or that than that he really did so. The possibilities, too, have a strange knack of becoming probabilities, and the probabilities certainties in a few pages, and so lend themselves as bases of deduction for new possibilities, which go through the same transformations. Most of M. Michel's guessing is plausible and seems to have some foundation in the only real record of Rembrandt's life, his work, which is generally dated. The system is burlesqued in Mr. Bolton's little book on Saskia, which is an utterly superfluous work. Of Saskia nothing is known at all except her birth and parentage, the date of her marriage, the dates of the birth of her children and of her own death, and such an idea of her personal appearance as can be gathered from various portraits more or less plausibly assumed to be hers, and very different from each other in expression and even in feature. How then write a Life of her? The task is easy. Bring in the Prince of Orange and Sir Philip Sidney, Alexandre Dumas and "La Tulipe Noire," lions, monkeys, and Dr. Tulp; assume that if Rembrandt scratches an etching of a woman in bed, Saskia is failing fast, and then introduce a most robust personage as a portrait of her a year later, make her a good influence in his life, and tell how, after her death, "his hand etched pictures unworthy" of him, in the face of the fact that the worst of the "free" subjects are of the year 1640—and the thing is done. We shall give one instance in the author's own words, but with our italics, and have done. On page 2, "Rombertus van Ulenburgh, the father of Saskia, in the early autumn of the year 1578 was a student in *some* foreign university, *perhaps* at Paris or in England." On page 3, "he *must have* enjoyed his walk to the Thames to see the barge of Leicester pass, or to look upon the gray beard and knitted eyebrows of Burleigh, the great minister."

M. Michel is not so bad as this, but even M. Michel works his guesses rather hard. He objects, justly, to the "mania for identification" which has given various historic names to Rembrandt's portraits and etchings, but he seems to us not free from the malady himself. His identification of Rembrandt's father is plausible, but he makes Saskias and Hendrickjes of female figures, nude or costumed, that have slight resemblances to each other, and, once having decided that Rembrandt worked much from members of his household, will have brothers and sisters and servants at every turn. Perhaps the strangest of all is his identification of the so-called Sobiesky with Rembrandt himself, in spite of a discrepancy of ten or fifteen years between the apparent age of the model and the date of the picture. The master played strange tricks with his own features, but we find it hard to believe in this one, especially as the head seems one of the most living and real of his works. The eye and nose are not unlike Rembrandt's at a later date, but the lower part of the face is entirely different in form from that of any of his portraits.

Eliminating the conjectural in Rembrandt's life, what is left that is important can be briefly enough told. Rembrandt Harmensz, who sometimes called himself Van Ryn, was born in Leyden of a respectable lower-middle-class family on the 15th day of July, 1606-7 or 8—for the date even is uncertain, and there seems about as much documentary evidence for one of these years as for the others. "No record of Rembrandt's early youth has come down to us," we are expressly told by M. Michel, but the may-have-beens bravely fill the gap. He was enrolled in the university, but how much he studied there we can only guess. At "about" the age of fifteen he began the study of art with a bad painter, Jacob van Swanenburch, and "probably" stayed with him three years. In 1624 he went to Amsterdam to study with a painter of greater reputation, the Italianizer Pieter Lastman, but remained in his studio less than six months, when he returned to Leyden, determined "to study and practise painting alone, in his own fashion." This was in 1624, and his earliest known works, the "St. Paul in Prison" in the Schönborn collection and "The Money Changer" in the Berlin Gallery, are dated 1627, so that three years are unaccounted for. After this time he soon began to be celebrated, so much so that Gerard Dou became his pupil in 1628 and remained with him until 1631. That Dou was his pupil seems strange until one finds that Rembrandt's work at this time was much more like Dou's than like his own later productions. In 1631, when he went to settle definitely in Amsterdam, he was already a well-known painter, and was shortly the fashionable portrait-painter of the day. The next year, when he was not more than twenty-six years old, he painted the "Anatomy Lesson," which set the cap-sheaf on his glory and made him the most famous of Dutch artists.

At this time he met Saskia van Uylenborch, a young woman of a much wealthier and better family than his own, and was welcomed as an aspirant by her relatives, and married her in 1634. In 1639 he bought the house in the Breestraat that was never paid for, and filled it with the collections that figured in his inventory eighteen years later. He was fond of his wife and his work, always busy, the master of many pupils, earning much money, and spending it lavishly on his wife and on his collections. He bought paintings, engravings, and bric-à-brac at extravagant prices, and seems to have been regularly fleeced by dealers and money-lenders. Titus, the only child of his marriage that lived to maturity, was born in 1641, and Saskia died in June of the next year. In that year also he painted "The Night Watch," that puzzling picture which generations of critics have fought over, and which Capt. Cocq and his company, for whom it was painted, understood as little as the rest of the world. This was the beginning of the end. Rembrandt was becoming too original to be popular; and as time went on, and his work grew better and better, the public neglected him more and more. He shut himself up in his work, made his servant, Hendrickje Stoffels, his mistress, and let his finances take care of themselves. The crash came, and in 1657 he was declared a bankrupt, and sold up. From that time his life becomes more and more sordid and miserable. He had no money of his own, and could have none, and Hendrickje and Titus, in partnership, took charge of all his affairs, and made him an allowance. In 1661 he painted his grand picture of "The Syndics," perhaps the greatest of his masterpieces, but it does not seem to have been admired. It is likely that his eyes were beginning to fail, for his etchings cease altogether from this year, and from 1662 to 1664 there is no work at all from his hand. Hendrickje must have died about this time, though there is no record of it. Titus married and died, both in 1668, and in 1669 the old man himself followed him, an obscure pauper. He left a daughter by Hendrickje, who did not live long. In the next generation his posterity seems to have become extinct.

But if the known facts of his life may be thus briefly catalogued, it is very different with his work. In this also is he like Shakspere, that commentary and discussion on his art are endless, and that judgments on it have been passed which differ as the North from the South. One extreme is marked by the opinion of a painter of the next generation, Gerard de Lairesse, a contemporary and rival of Van der Werf, which Michel quotes as follows: "In his efforts to attain a mellow manner, Rembrandt merely achieved an effect of rottenness. The vulgar and prosaic aspects of a subject were the only ones he was capable of noting, and, with his red and yellow tones, he set the fatal example of shadows so hot they seem aglow, and colors which seem to lie like liquid mud upon the canvas." The other extreme is marked by the latter-day thick-and-thin admirers of the master, of whom M. Michel is to some extent one, who maintain that he was not only a great poet in light and shade, but a great colorist and a great draughtsman as well, and who lay all the blame of the ugliness of some of his figures upon the models. M. Michel is explicit and reiterative upon this point, and considers poor Saskia and Hendrickje responsible for the bandy legs, sprawling hands, and stumpy bodies of various Susannahs, Bathshebas, and Danaes. He expatiates on the difficulty of securing models in virtuous Holland, and explains that Rembrandt had to take what he could get. We must confess that this seems to us wilfully blind and shallow. Many of Rembrandt's portraits are as ill-proportioned as his nude studies, while the works of Terburgh and Metzu, his contemporaries, and of Ver Meer of Delft, but little younger, are there to show that there was grace and beauty and refinement in Dutch life at the time. When Rembrandt does show a sense of beauty, his worshippers cry aloud and call upon us to admire it; why should they not admit that more often he does not show it? Fromentin's remark, that Rembrandt saw nothing in life "but physical ugliness and moral beauty," still remains, as does so much else that he has written, the truest word of criticism upon that strange genius. In what else we have to say we pretend to do no more than to follow Fromentin's

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illuminating critique, condensing it to suit the space at our disposal.

According to our teacher, then, Rembrandt was two men in one. On the one hand was the thoroughly trained Dutch painter of the time, the realist *par excellence*, the perfect technician, the observer, *l'homme extérieur*. Of this Rembrandt no better example could be cited than that known to all of us, "The Gilder." Here is no poetry, no idealism, no style, but a piece of work so thorough, so wonderful, so truly seen and rendered, that it rightly ranks among the masterpieces of the world. This is the Rembrandt who was the idol of the Dutch public, the man whom the compatriots of Terburgh adored. The other Rembrandt was an idealist, a dreamer of strange dreams, a worshipper of light. The "Supper at Emmaus" in the Louvre, recently recalled to us by Cole's engraving in the *Century*, and of which Michel gives a fine photogravure, is *his* work. The mysterious charm and power of such work as this is indescribable and incommunicable. For once a result seems to have been produced in art without any visible or analyzable means. Something supernatural seems before one, and one feels himself in the presence of a being who has really died and risen again. Yet in technical matters the picture is every way inferior to the portrait of "The Gilder." It is not particularly well drawn, and it is entirely without color. In its physical appearance the canvas is mean and insignificant—and its handling is timid and almost fumbling. With something to say that had never been said, how should he say it with assurance and in the current language of art?

As long as these two Rembrandts were separate, one was sure to please. But the dreamer insisted on having a hand in works where the observer only was needed, and the result was such an enigmatic picture as "The Night Watch." It is a splendid failure, and Capt. Cocq can hardly be blamed for preferring the accomplished mediocrity of Van der Helst. Again the two Rembrandts take up their different tasks, but the public confidence is shaken, and public favor is deflected upon more reliable artists who can be trusted not to dream *mal-apropos*. Shut off from public favor and public commissions, the dreamer is strengthened and the technician weakened. Strange experiments are made, violences are resorted to, methods become more and more startling and original. Late in life, once or twice only, the master-painter and the great imaginer coincide, and pictures like "The Syndics" are produced—pictures in which imagination and observation work together for the production of the perfect masterpiece; but it is too late, and the technique, perfect as it is, is no longer the smooth accomplishment of earlier days. No one comprehends and no one cares, and the great painter drops into his neglected grave.

A colorist, save once or twice, Rembrandt never was. Neither was he, properly speaking, a draughtsman. He was never sure of proportion, and had next to no sense of line. Even in his etchings he works, normally, with light and shade, and his outline, when he uses it, is never classic or intrinsically beautiful, but only picturesque and suggestive, giving the sense of light and shade even when these are entirely absent. Of chiaroscuro he is the supreme master. It is almost his only method of expression, and with it he expresses such strange things as were never, before or since, expressed in art, and makes us dimly see one of the greatest and most profoundly original minds in the world's history. Like all such minds, he had no artistic posterity, and worked almost pure harm to those who were influenced by him. Like Michelangelo, he was the ruin of his followers. The language of these solitary minds is fitted only for the expression of their own thoughts, and becomes empty verbiage in the mouths of imitators.

MOLTKE AS A WRITER.

Essays, Speeches, and Memoirs of Field-Marshal Count Helmuth von Moltke. The essays translated by Charles Flint McClumpha, Ph.D.; the speeches by Major C. Barter, D.A.A.G.; and the memoirs by Mary Herms. 2 vols. 8vo, 308, 239 pp. Harper & Bros. 1893.

MOLTKE'S reputation as a writer will always rest mainly on work which does not bear his name, on the general-staff histories of the great wars which he directed. The extent to which these books are really his may be judged from the account which Gen. von Verdy gives (in one of the volumes before us) of the preparation of the history of the Austrian war of 1866:

"As soon as a paragraph of the work was written, it was submitted to him [Moltke], and he began to revise it most carefully. In many cases the paragraph was completely remodelled by his expressing the events in his classical style, omitting what seemed to him unimportant, cancelling any repetition, summing up the most essential points in short sentences. . . . Thus changed and revised, the work went back to the same department, where it was again looked through in order that each sentence might correspond exactly with the historical truth. . . . If any cause was found for . . . criticism, the manuscript was returned again to the General, and this proceeding was continued till both parties were satisfied." (Vol. ii., p. 187.)

It is not surprising that Moltke's posthumous history of the Franco-German war proved to be merely an abridgment of the general staff history. He had done the work once, and felt no impulse to do it again on really different lines. His purpose was simply to put the facts in briefer and more popular form.

But while Moltke's miscellaneous writings will add little to his reputation either as strategist or writer, they will certainly not lessen it; and the essays, speeches, and biographical notes included in the present collection, like the volumes of letters and journals that appeared earlier, help us to know and understand the man. The most striking fact about the essays is that no one of them is devoted to the discussion of a technical military theme. They were written between the thirtieth and the forty-fifth years of his life—at an age, that is, when the nineteenth-century specialist is prone to feel that he has no time for matters outside his particular department. Moltke was certainly a specialist, and one of the most distinguished of our time; but we find that the revolutionary movements of 1830 do not impel him to publish his views on the conduct of the Dutch or the Russian campaign, but to study the political and social development of Belgium and Poland since the middle ages. The assertion made by Thiers in 1840 that the Rhine was the natural eastern boundary of France leads him to make a similar study in mediæval history and to collect the evidence against the French claim. His four years of service (1835-'39) as military adviser to the Sultan result in the publication of five short papers on the Eastern question; but here again the point of view is not that of the soldier, it is that of the economist and statesman. Economic, again, is his discussion of the choice of railway routes (1843). Costs and profits are the uppermost topics; military points of view are suggested, but briefly and in the second line.

Besides the interest which these essays possess as showing the wide range of Moltke's studies and thought, they contain occasional evidence of ideas which were to prove forces. In his paper on the Situation of the Ottoman Empire he anticipates by twenty years Bismarck's advice to Austria to transfer her centre of gravity to Pesth.

"But, unfortunately, we see the dissevered provinces and countries [of the Balkan Peninsula] under the influence of Russia, France, and England, but not under that of Germany. It is a striking fact that in Turkey we always hear of these three powers, but never of Austria; and yet the latter should be held in greater regard there, for it is Austria's sword which will some day be thrown into the scale to decide the fate of this empire." (Vol. i., p. 296.)

Again, in his paper on the Western Boundary of Germany, (1841), he speaks of the treaties of 1814–15 as follows:

"It was . . . dangerous to leave the French . . . in possession of German provinces and of so important a military-political outpost as Strasbourg. It was dangerous to make only Napoleon the scapegoat, to heap on him all the curse and to spare France itself: for history teaches that Napoleon only continued the wrong the French kings long before him had done us. Napoleon was not the first cause and France the second cause, but France was the first cause and Napoleon the second cause. Napoleon was a passing event, France was permanent. With France we had to do centuries before, and with France we shall have to do centuries to come." (Vol. i., p. 213.)

Thirty years later this was compressed into the saying of the German professor: "We are not fighting Napoleon III.; we are fighting Louis XIV."

Other opinions appear in the essays which were considerably modified in Moltke's later years. In 1841 he writes:

"We candidly confess our belief in the idea, on which so much ridicule has been cast, of a general European peace. Not that long and bloody wars are to cease from henceforth . . . —that is too much to expect; but . . . wars will become rarer and rarer because they are growing expensive beyond measure. . . . Has not the population of Prussia, under a good and wise administration, increased by a fourth in twenty-five years of peace? And are not her fifteen millions of inhabitants better fed, clothed, and instructed to-day than her eleven millions used to be? Are not such results equal to a victorious campaign or to the conquest of a province, with this great difference, that they were not gained at the expense of other nations, nor with the sacrifice of the enormous number of victims that a war demands?" (Vol. i, pp. 276, 277.)

Moltke's speeches in the Reichstag, a generation later, strike another note:

"Possibly, a later and more fortunate generation, a part of whose burdens we already bear, may hope to escape from the condition of armed peace which has already so long weighed Europe down. For us no such smiling prospect is, I fear, in store. An event so great, so historically important, as the reërection of the German Empire is scarcely to be compassed in a short space of time. That which we have wrested by force of arms in half a year we may have to protect by arms for half a century." (Vol. ii., pp. 107, 108.)

The days of cabinet wars, he says again (vol. ii., p. 136), have passed, but their place has been taken by popular wars:

"The passions of the populace, the ambition of party leaders, and public opinion led astray both in speeches and by the press—all these, gentlemen, are elements that may prove stronger than the will of those who rule. Have we not seen how even stock-exchange interests have kindled wars?" (Vol. ii., p. 133.)

As early as 1841 Moltke had said that the fear "that, with the cessation of war, men

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would lose their moral energy and unlearn the virtue of sacrificing their lives for an idea" was not altogether without foundation (Vol. i., p. 277). This fear seems to have taken stronger hold upon him in his later years, and perhaps his last thought was expressed in the answer which he is said to have made to the address of a Peace Society: "Gentlemen, universal peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream."

All the earlier essays are characterized by a directness of diction and a transparent simplicity of style which correspond to the innermost nature of the man himself. Figures are rarely used, but in a paper on the Eastern Question we find a very striking one: "The division of Turkey will be like the division of a diamond ring; the question is, who is to possess the most precious of solitaires, Constantinople?" (Vol. i., p. 273). But in the essays Moltke had not yet achieved that terseness for which he afterwards became famous, and which is so marked in his parliamentary speeches. Some of these consist of a simple sentence of two or three lines. The two longest might each have been delivered in twenty minutes. Their relative length is explained by the fact that he was speaking on important bills, that he was arguing against a probable adverse majority, and that he had many independent points to make. But, in spite of the brevity of these speeches, Moltke's meaning is always unmistakable, and his arguments are so fully developed that we feel, in reading, that the addition of more words would only weaken them.

Scarcely less remarkable is the infrequency of his speeches. Moltke sat for twenty-four years in the Reichstag and for nineteen years in the upper house of the Prussian Diet. He spoke but forty-one times in the former body and but three times in the latter. He never spoke simply because of his interest in the subject under debate; he certainly never spoke to win applause. He spoke only when it seemed necessary. Among his papers were found two different drafts of a speech which was prepared for the Customs Parliament in 1868. It was—or would have been—an admirable speech. It was never delivered; apparently because he was convinced that the motion which he intended to oppose would be defeated (as, in fact, it was) without any speech from him. If it be added that none of his speeches shows the slightest tinge of personal or party feeling; that he always assumed (without saying it, of course) that his hearers were open-minded and fair; that his effort was solely to make them see things which they had seemingly overlooked or to remove from their minds misconceptions due to error—we cannot wonder that his rare speeches were received by a house almost breathlessly silent, and that he was judged to be the most *effective* orator (in the literal sense of the word) in the German Parliament.

The speeches, with introduction and notes, occupy the first half of the second volume. The second half is chiefly made up of reminiscences of Moltke, furnished by relatives, friends, and colleagues. These are of very unequal value: they range from collections of nearly pointless anecdotes to really important contributions to a memoir of Moltke and to the history of his time. To the latter class belongs the following episode, narrated by Count Bethusy-Huc:

"In the spring of 1867 we sat in the Constituent Reichstag; the Luxemburg affair had come up again, and Bennigsen's motion was on the order of the day for the next day but one. . . . Gen. von Moltke, in a conversation with me in [one of] the ante-rooms . . . spoke as follows: 'After a war such as we have just had, no one can really feel a desire to have another, and no one can be farther from cherishing such a desire than I am. And yet I cannot but wish that the occasion given for a war with France were taken advantage of. Unhappily I regard this war as absolutely unavoidable within the next five years, and within this period the now indisputable superiority of our organization and weapons will be equalled by France. . . . The sooner, therefore, we come to blows the better. The present occasion is good. It has a national character, and ought therefore to be taken advantage of.'"

After a consultation with his political friends, Bethusy-Huc reported Moltke's words to Bismarck.

"Count Bismarck recognized the justice of Moltke's remarks, both from the political and military point of view, but declared that he could never bear the responsibility of bringing the misery of a war upon his country unless [it was] necessary (as in the case of the Austrian war), in defence of its vital interests and its honor. The personal conviction of a ruler or statesman, however well founded, that war would eventually break out, could not justify its promotion. Unforeseen events might alter the situation and avert what seemed inevitable.

"When I told the General this, next day, he answered: 'Bismarck's standpoint is unassailable, but it will cost us many human lives one day.'" (Vol. ii., pp. 204, 205.)

The translators of these volumes have done their work faithfully, but with different degrees of success. The rendering of the speeches is excellent; that of the reminiscences ("memoirs" gives a false impression) is good; but the English of the essays is often deplorable.

William Jay and the Constitutional Movement for the Abolition of Slavery. By Bayard Tuckerman. With a preface by John Jay. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1893.

A STUDY of Judge Jay in a single phase of his career was well worth making. Something more than this, though less than a full life, is to be found in Mr. Tuckerman's narrative and Mr. John Jay's summary; but in the main we have to do with the relations of the subject of this memoir to the abolition societies and the political anti-slavery parties. Great stress is laid upon his insistence on the incompetency of Congress under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the States, and no doubt his concern on this point led to the explicit acknowledgment embodied in the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia in 1833. In the practice and aims, however, of those who formed that Society, there was nothing to make them hesitate to adopt Judge Jay's view. They had confined their political efforts, as he had done, to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and other United States territory, and to preventing the further extension of slavery. A year before, Garrison had denounced the Constitution for the immunity it gave to slavery in the States, and afterwards held himself and induced his followers to hold themselves disfranchised because unable to take oath to support such a constitution. Still, Judge Jay undoubtedly did good service by helping to make the lawfulness of the society's methods plain and unmistakable; and when it was attempted, in 1838, by a new adherent, Alvan Stewart, to revoke the article in question, he saved the day, to Garrison's satisfaction among others.

Judge Jay had scruples about the expediency of a national anti-slavery society, but, once founded, he lent it the great weight of his name and high character, and became the president of the auxiliary New York State Society. He manifested the conservatism of his profession by discountenancing appeals to the courts, as against the pro-slavery violations of the mail in New York, Charleston and at the South generally; and by deprecating the practice of passing "resolutions" which the shifting aspects and incidents of the agitation forced upon the various abolition bodies. One such casual resolution, which did no more than recommend testing the constitutionality of slavery by petition to Congress or in the Supreme Court, he curiously considered equivalent to asking Congress "to commit perjury" and to interfere with slavery in the States. So strong a feeling that the Constitution opened no way for general emancipation tended to keep Judge Jay at one with the Garrisonian wing of the abolitionists, who resisted the proposal "to change," in Jay's language, "the anti-slavery enterprise from a religious into a political one." "I doubt," he said in July, 1840, "the practicability of forming such a party; and I moreover question whether such a party would be consistent with our obligation as citizens." He objected to the singleness of its aim, in neglect of questions of "trade, the finances, internal improvements, foreign affairs, or the military power of the nation"; and he advanced many other valid considerations against it.

On the other hand, his conservatism was shocked by the free expression of opinion on subjects not directly associated with the anti-slavery cause by its chief promoter, and especially by the stand taken for the equal share of women in the labors and direction of the cause. Hence he joined the seceders in 1840, and became one of the managers of the really personal organization of Mr. Lewis Tappan calling itself the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. To this he fondly looked "as a refuge for such abolitionists as had been expelled from the [American A. S.] Society by the faithlessness of those who had converted it into an instrument for spreading other than anti-slavery doctrines." The new society, by its constitution, stood pledged "carefully to abstain from all the machinery of party political arrangements in effecting [its] objects," but the very next year this pledge was almost unanimously stricken out in favor of "the maxim now promulgated in certain quarters, that the friends of immediate emancipation should labor to secure for themselves all the loaves and fishes in the gift of the republic—the power and emoluments *of every office*."

Meantime, Alvan Stewart had, more than almost any other man, drawn the "new organization" abolitionists into the Liberty party, and Judge Jay found himself voting for Birney in 1844. The second refuge proved no safer than the first, for, in 1845, he wrote to Henry B. Stanton complaining "of the strenuous efforts now making to change its character, and to convert it from an anti-slavery party into one for matters and things in general," beginning with Stewart's old heresy "that the Federal Government has the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the States," and ending with the later heresy "that women should exercise the right of suffrage and be eligible to office." In 1846 Jay wrote: "I shall leave the Liberty party whenever it makes abolition a pack-horse to carry favorite measures unconnected with slavery, whether those measures are of Whig or Democratic origin." The party was, however, already moribund if not dead, and Jay's standing for Senator in its name in 1845 appears to have been his last identification with any party, though he did not abate his consistent anti-slavery endeavor. We should have been glad of some light on his attitude towards

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the doctrine imposed upon Free-Soilers and Republicans by the logic of the disunion abolitionists, viz., that the Constitution was an anti-slavery instrument; but in lieu of that we have his very courteous letter (in marked contrast to that of prominent Republican politicians) to T. W. Higginson and his fellow-disunionists of 1857. After pronouncing the Union a curse to the people of the slave and the free States alike, as well as to the unhappy bondmen whose chains it riveted, he said: "While I believe you are doomed to disappointment, I nevertheless rejoice in every exposure of the demoralizing influence of the Union. When the people of the North cease to idolize the Union, they will cease to offer on its altar their rights and their duties. . . . When all this happens the North will continue its Union with the South, and you yourselves will have no wish to see that Union severed."

Judge Jay retained, throughout, his connection with the Episcopal Church, whose unfaithfulness to the slave's cause he knew and persistently combated—in some minor issues with success. No abolition utterances on the awful shortcomings of the ecclesiastical bodies of the land exceeded some here cited from his pen, which may be summed up in two: "The church of the living God"—he means the self-styled church—"is the great buttress of slavery and caste in the United States" (the bulwark, in Birney's phraseology); "Our pro-slavery clergy, our negro-hating clergy, our slave-catching clergy are the most successful apostles of infidelity in the country." It was in accordance with Jay's sweet temper that while he could not imitate those (the so-called "come-outers") who refused to sit under such a clergy, and while he deplored the spiritual dangers of their course, he never indulged in abuse of them.

This blameless and most estimable man deserved the larger work contemplated by his son, whose ill-health vetoed the undertaking. What we get from Mr. Tuckerman lacks the accuracy and the grasp which we should exact of a veteran of the anti-slavery days. So far as Jay is allowed to speak in his own words, the book is a substantial addition to the sources of anti-slavery history; how much more so might it have been made if the store of MS. material implied on pp. 158-159 as available had been printed even without link or comment.

A Colony of Mercy; or, Social Christianity at Work. By Julie Sutter. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1893.

MANY persons, we fear, will be repelled from this book by the almost hysterical key in which it is pitched. A large part of it is taken up with ecstatic exclamations and pious rhapsodies, and, after the subject has been properly completed, a wild screed is added upon the agrarian question in Great Britain. But if we omit this digression upon a topic with which the writer is wholly incompetent to deal, and skip some of the sincere but inept religious effusions, we shall find matter which is well deserving of attention. In fact, as the beautiful story of the results attained by wise and devoted benevolence is revealed, we are moved to look upon the writer's lack of restraint with forgiving eyes; and although we could wish the facts presented in more systematic manner, we are glad to have them upon any terms.

The "Colony of Mercy," or Bethel, is in the immediate vicinity of Bielefeld in Westphalia, lying at the foot of the Sparrenburg, a stronghold of the counts of Lippe in former years. From the hill upon which the castle is placed, views are obtained over the ranges of the Teutoburger forest and the Weser mountains, the intervening country being the principality of Lippe-Detmold. Here in 1867 an institution for epileptics was founded by private benevolence, which has not only greatly increased but has gradually developed at its side a house for the training of deaconesses, from which 600 nurses have been sent out, a similar house for the training of deacons or brothers, a labor colony, and a workman's-home association. A farm-house was first acquired and four epileptic sufferers were provided with a home; but the work grew at once, and, under Pastor Bodelschwingh, who was called in 1872, it has assumed its present dimensions. There are now more than one hundred houses in which the epileptic sufferers are grouped in families, and the different enterprises now occupy one hundred and fifty houses in all. It is hardly necessary to say that useful work, physical or mental, is provided for all who are able to do it, and the trades of the carpenter, the mason, the tailor, the printer, the bookbinder, the basket-maker, the baker, etc., are actively prosecuted. An immense labor has been undertaken in reclaiming a barren waste in the neighborhood—a sandy surface underlaid at the depth of three or four feet with an impervious stratum which requires to be broken up before vegetation can flourish. To a remarkable extent this colony of epileptics has been self-supporting, but there has never been any lack of revenue from charitable offerings. Its success has led to the establishment of many similar institutions in Germany, and its methods deserve the study of all to whom the condition of a peculiarly helpless class appeals.

It is impossible to do justice, in our space, to the spiritual influences that have made this colony what it is. Even more than the insane the epileptic are repulsive and helpless. Their seizures are so distressing that mercy to themselves as well as to others requires them to live apart, and the hope of recovery is in most cases so small as to make it seem almost cruel to endeavor to protract lives of increasing suffering. Without love and sympathy no one can undertake the care of such sufferers, and love and sympathy are not to be had for wages. As we understand Miss Sutter, all service in this cause is without pay. Teachers, managers, nurses, patients, all live together as a great family, all receiving food, clothing, shelter, and provision for true wants, but none receiving pecuniary compensation, and none giving it except those who are able. In spite of the incessant manifestations of disease and the constant deaths, if we may trust this account, an atmosphere of cheerfulness, even of happiness, prevails, music is constantly heard, and an unquestioning faith in the mercy of God causes death to be regarded less as the natural end of their suffering lives than as the beginning of a more blessed state. Altogether Miss Sutter's picture is affecting in the extreme, and few can read of such cheerful self-sacrifice as has been displayed here, and its beneficent results, without being strengthened in all kindly feeling.

We can barely hint at the extraordinary variety of collateral enterprises that have grown out of this home for epileptics. Among them are a retreat for the mildly insane and others for the incurable, a hospital for consumptive infants, a home for idiots, a refuge for fallen women, an orphan asylum, a reformatory for drunkards, and others literally too numerous to mention. But the "Labor Colony" and its complements, the relief-station and the wayfarer's home, deserve special mention on account of the distress now prevailing among the poor of our own country. Somewhat more than a dozen years ago Germany was suffering from a collapse of business, and the country swarmed with tramps. They were always fed and clad by Pastor von Bodelschwingh, but the results of this indiscriminate charity were so pernicious that he determined to take radical measures for treating the evil. He obtained a grant of funds from the province and founded an industrial colony, devoted principally to the reclamation of the barren waste already referred to. Thenceforth applicants for relief received it as wages, not as alms. The policy was not to give a breakfast for an hour's work, but to renovate the tramp externally, and, so far as possible, internally, by making him work until he had earned what he had received. The "colonist," in fact, is made to sign a contract to work for his board, although after a time ten cents a day is allowed him as a gratuity. But this is the limit, except for piece-work, and even these modest savings are paid over in such a way as not to be squandered. The aim is not to provide permanent occupation, but to prevent men out of work from being driven by despair to beggary and crime, and to put them in the way of getting remunerative employment. In spite of the fact that the colony is not self-supporting, the saving from the diminution of vagrancy more than outweighs the apparent loss. Labor-colonies upon this model now number some twenty-five in Germany, and their effectiveness is greatly increased by the fact that they are directed chiefly by private persons; and it is also increased by coöperation. In this way the antecedents of nearly every applicant for relief are investigated, and provision is made that his future movements shall be recorded. This is partly done through the relief-stations, of which we condense Miss Sutter's account.

Along the great high roads, she writes—north, south, east, and west—there are *Natural-Verpflegungs-Stationen*, at a distance from one another of half a day's march. The man in search of work, having obtained a kind of passport which is regularly *visé*, starts forth, perhaps from a labor-colony, and reaches his station at mid-day. There he gets a dinner, works all the afternoon, generally at wood-cutting, has his supper and a bed, and in the morning—unless it is Sunday—after getting breakfast resumes his travels. His destination being fixed, he may not deviate from the course prescribed in his ticket without forfeiting his claim to entertainment. These stations are employment-agencies, and if a man reaches the end of his course without finding work, he may be committed as a vagrant, or, if deserving, receive another certificate and resume his search. These relief-stations are maintained by law, and although it is scarcely ten years since the first was established, they number 2,000, and shelter on the average about 8,000 tramps every night. A grade above them are the *Herbergen zur Heimath*, or wayfarers' homes, where, for a trifling sum, any decent artisan is accommodated while wandering in search of employment. There are some 400 of these sustained by private benevolence, with accommodations for 13,000 guests, and they are said to be always full.

We state these details not because this book contains the most accurate account of the German system of poor relief, but because many will read a book of this kind who will not look at official publications, and there is enough here to suggest solutions for our own problems. It may be laid down as an axiom that our people are too kind-hearted to refuse to

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feed tramps and give to beggars, unless it is demonstrable that proper relief for urgent wants is regularly provided. Their theories may be economically sound, but when they fear that a fellow-creature may starve or freeze to death if turned away, they are unwilling to take any chances. They would rather that ninety-nine guilty tramps should be fed than that one innocent one should go hungry. But the relief of tramps by private persons is not only an expensive but a dangerous exercise of charity. It directly increases vagrancy, and it results in an increase of crimes, frequently of the most revolting character. The losses suffered through incendiary fires have been so severe that many farmers do not dare to refuse a beggar for fear of having their buildings burned. The injury to railroad property through these vagabonds is enormous. Scarcely an accident occurs to a freight-train which does not kill some tramps who were "stealing a ride," and their other stealings are in the aggregate very large. Better regulation of this evil is a crying want of our country, and the German system seems to cover the ground. It is as impossible as it would be unjust to prevent men out of work from going forth to search for it; but it is neither unjust nor impossible to require those who need help to be identified and to submit to regulation. When this is done, and the money now spent in maintaining vagabonds is systematically applied, we can enforce prohibitions of begging. The evil will then be reduced to manageable dimensions.

An Old Master, and Other Political Essays. By Woodrow Wilson, Professor of Jurisprudence in Princeton University. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1893.

Prof. Woodrow Wilson gives us, in a small volume, five essays, four of which have already appeared in the pages of the *Atlantic* and *New Princeton Review*. The first of these lends its name to the volume, 'An Old Master,' and the Old Master is Adam Smith. This essay is a most appreciative and agreeable study of a great, brave, modest man, whose simplicity and unassuming reticence in his daily intercourse with his fellow-men seem strangely at variance with his boldness—his almost audacity—of conception and design whenever he took his pen in his hand. At this day, when Adam Smith is little more than a name, though still a respected and renowned name, this sketch is most acceptable.

On other subjects, "The Study of Politics," "Political Sovereignty," "Character of Democracy in the United States," "Government under the Constitution," Prof. Wilson writes with a facile pen—a too facile pen, many people may think, for there are subjects that demand a cautious pen which will record only guarded utterances. Prof. Wilson talks with his pen; it runs in a clear, fluent, unhesitating manner, and it throws off unguarded expressions as if they came in the warmth of animated conversation. It is an easy thing for him to write that "the English have transformed their Crown into a Ministry," and "have kept a strong executive without abating either the power or the independence of the representative chamber," while we, "*being under the spell of the Constitution*, have been unable to see the facts which written documents can neither establish nor change"; or that "the old, blunt, antagonistic veto is no longer needed" in England, yet "is needed here, however, to preserve the Presidency from the insignificance of merely administrative functions"; that the veto is "neither revisory nor corrective"; that it "is merely obstructive," "a simple blunt negation." But such seed, planted in the minds of many who will accept his conclusions as superior to their own knowledge, may bear very undesirable fruit.

Prof. Wilson knows, though many of his readers do not know, that the veto of the Crown has been obsolete for more than two centuries, and that there is no power that can revise or disapprove an act of Parliament. Yet he says:

"In England the veto of the Crown has not passed out of use, as is commonly said. It has simply changed its form. It does not exist as an imperative, obstructive 'No' uttered by the sovereign. It has passed over into the privilege of the ministers to throw their party weight, reinforced by their power to dissolve Parliament, against measures of which they disapprove. It is a much-tempered instrument, but for that reason all the more flexible and useful."

Now, "the privilege of the ministers to throw their party weight"—whatever that may mean—"reinforced by their power to dissolve Parliament, against measures of which they disapprove," has not one element of the veto power. That the Opposition can frame a political measure and carry it through Parliament against the will of the existing Government is an impossibility. There never was a case where a ministry dissolved Parliament to prevent the passage of a bill of which they disapproved. The veto power is a supervision of legislative action lodged in some one who is outside of the law-making or (if it be preferred) the bill-making machinery of government; and a disapproval by the President is not "a simple, blunt negation," "merely obstructive," for the very plain reasons that the President is required to set forth his objections for the consideration of Congress, and if those objections are not deemed well taken, Congress can immediately pass the bill over the veto, the only restriction being that there must be a decisive majority in favor of the measure. A prime minister, on the contrary, is neither a President nor a King, but a person who is an integral part of the legislative machinery, and who has undertaken to carry on the government agreeably to the will of Parliament. When he fails to do so, the bargain is at an end, and out he goes. Such were the agreed terms of his employment. Occasionally he may say to Parliament, "You employed me to carry through this and that measure, or to manage the government on such and such lines of policy, and I have done so and am willing to continue to do so—it is not I, but you who have broken the compact; I appeal to the country"; and then, as the representative of the sovereign, he dissolves Parliament and orders a general election.

This "flexible and useful" veto power of an English ministry, which appears so superior to our own in the eyes of persons who are not "under the spell of the Constitution," then amounts to this: If the legislative power is not of the premier's way of thinking, he can influence and bully and intimidate members by threatening them with the pains and penalties of a new election; if, notwithstanding his threats, a sufficient number stand firmly by their convictions and refuse to pass one of his measures of which they disapprove, he can smash the existing government, legislative and executive, and plunge the country into the turmoil of one of our Presidential elections. That any intelligent person, American or English, can characterize such a *quasi* revolution, constitutional though it be, which may be precipitated on a country at any moment and by the will of one man, as "flexible and useful," and that he can regard it as superior to the quiet and orderly proceeding of the American veto, would be inconceivable if it were not in print. Such comments on constitutional systems will not affect the judgment of any man who has given the matter thoughtful attention, but they form most unfortunate seed to be sown in the minds of young American citizens.

The Diary of Col. Peter Hawker. With an introduction by Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, Bart. In two volumes with illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co.

Col. Peter Hawker was one of the most noted sportsmen and brilliant shots of his time. Moreover, he possessed the faculty of imparting a rare interest to all that he wrote, not only concerning the sports of the field, but in relation to his personal experiences in a wider sphere of action. Unlike most Englishmen of his epoch, he did not indulge in fox-hunting. He confined himself exclusively to the pursuit of upland game and of wild-fowl. Col. Hawker was a soldier who had served under Wellington. A wound in the thigh incapacitating him for active service, he devoted most of his leisure to fishing and shooting. He was a man of large wealth and the owner of a beautiful and extensive property. Thus equipped, and endowed with an inventive and ingenious mind, a tireless patience and perseverance, and a gluttony for slaughter, he attained to that apogee of some Englishmen's ambition of being the foremost gunner of his time.

In his forays against the wild life of the fields and waters, he proceeded upon military principles. He made careful maps of the territory over which he proposed to shoot. To his retainers, of whom he employed many, and to his brother gunners, he assigned positions carefully indicated upon his charts. All prepared, with markers in the tallest trees and his beaters in advance and on his flanks, he swept the country in his front. A dead shot and a remorseless one, nothing escaped him. On one occasion he determined to ravage the land of a certain Parson Bond. This theologian, having got wind of the proposed attack, carefully planted his territory with traps for the discomfiture of man and dog. The Colonel, however, was not to be caught napping. He made a personal reconnoissance, and, having ascertained the sites of all of the machines, marked them upon a map of the property which he had already constructed. A facsimile of this chart is reproduced in the first volume of his diary. Thus fortified, with his beaters, markers, and dogs he descended upon the parson and cleared the land of its game. Colonel Hawker's account of his subsequent controversy with this gentleman, who from a convenient perch had witnessed the triumphant march of the gunners, is most amusing.

Those portions of Col. Hawker's diary which relate to the sports of the field are by no means the most interesting. They are somewhat prolix and monotonous, and too much space is given to technical details and statistical notes. Where he is the more entertaining is in his account of travels at home and abroad. He has a keen sense of humor and a blunt, vigorous style of narrative which imparts a most delightful piquancy to all that he relates. His relations of a visit to Scotland and one to France immediately following the fall of Napoleon have, within their limitations, rarely been excelled. On his way to Scotland he halted at Gretna Green, where he had an interview with Joe Parsley, the blacksmith (so called) who united

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eloping couples. This practitioner on occasions received fees of from $200 to $500 for tying the knot. He was, however, an intolerable drunkard, and had no sooner received his pay than he hastened to the grog-shop, where he remained until every penny was expended. Joe Parsley was not a blacksmith, as is commonly supposed, but a tobacconist.

On his visit to France, Col. Hawker was accompanied by Mrs. Hawker. Upon landing at Cherbourg they were met by the hospitable inhabitants with a volley of paving-stones; although they managed to escape the fury of the mob, the captain of the boat was seriously injured. This experience at Cherbourg was duplicated at many other points in France. The journey was a continual battle with sullen foes and wrangles with hotel-keepers, postillions, and officers of justice. The Colonel's narrative is a most vivid picture of the demoralized condition of the French at the time.

The egotism of Col. Hawker is on occasion very much in evidence; but this is lost sight of by the reader in the admiration which his absolute contempt for danger under any conditions inspires. His savage greed for killing game is lamentable, but this was before the days when any protest was made against the wanton slaughter of the wild life of the woods and waters. Apart from this, Col. Hawker was a man of much refinement. He was a musician of no little ability, and published a book of 'Instruction for the Best Position on the Piano-forte.' He was also author of 'The Journal of a Regimental Officer during the Recent Campaign in Portugal and Spain' (1810). Moreover, he was the inventor of several devices of value. His great popularity was owing to his 'Book of Instructions to Young Sportsmen.' It passed through twelve editions, and was for fifty years the recognized manual on guns and shooting, especially in that relating to wild-fowl.

Sunny Manitoba. By Alfred O. Legge. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893.

Mr. Legge states that his justification for writing this book is his desire to remove some of the prevailing misconceptions and convey accurate information about a much calumniated province of the British Empire. His endeavor to reëstablish Manitoba in the affections of English emigrants is based on the following favorable considerations. He believes—and there is good authority for this belief—that the yield of wheat increases as the northern limit is approached within which it can be grown at all; and he claims that Manitoba wheat excels in quality as well as in yield per acre. He praises the system of experimental farms conducted by the Government, which have been eminently successful in testing the merits and adaptability of different seeds and fertilizers, and have thereby greatly assisted the farmers. He quotes various cases which have come under his observation showing the remarkable results of a few years' farming by emigrants starting with little or no capital. And, finally, he says all that it is possible to say in favor of the climate.

Having exhausted his brief on this side of the case, he then proceeds to give some idea of the other side. He admits that the temperature runs to very high figures in the summer and very low ones in the winter, with a mean temperature for the year of about 32°, which seems to harmonize but coldly with the title of his book. He further confesses to a very deficient water supply, which renders a large part of southwestern Manitoba unfit for settlement, and is more or less felt in other sections. His remedy for this is an extensive system of forestry, to be carried on both by the Government and by individuals, with a view to increasing the rainfall—a plan from which, at best, results cannot be expected for many years. His general conclusion is, that those who see their way to a tolerable livelihood in England had better not emigrate to Manitoba, "because of the sacrifices involved." This is rather a lame and impotent conclusion, and will hardly be received with enthusiasm by our "much calumniated" friends across the border. In the present condition of agricultural and other pursuits open to young men in England, it is probably more difficult than ever before to make a tolerable livelihood, and it may be safely assumed that Englishmen will continue to cross the Atlantic, whether they settle permanently in Manitoba, or whether they follow a common Canadian custom—very annoying to Mr. Legge's patriotic feelings—and drift over the border into the Dakotas.

Mr. Legge has something to say about missionaries, and he finds that they meet with the same difficulties among the Canadian Indians as in other parts of the world. The Indian argument against Christianity has a familiar sort of sound: "If your Bible is true, why are the white men worse than the Indians? It is they who have taught us our worst vices."

The book has a number of excellent illustrations and a map of the province on a liberal scale. It is fairly well written, although Mr. Legge is fond of unusual words and peculiar spelling. A startling instance of the latter is the man "whose ambition *sores* above the log shanty"!

An Unknown Heroine: An Historical Episode of the War Between the States. By L. E. Chittenden. Richmond, Croscup & Co.

In comparison with the numerous important biographies, personal recollections, and still weightier historical documents that have grown out of the war, Mr. Chittenden's latest volume has a modest but yet significant part to play. As it deals almost entirely with private history, it is happily removed from the field of party controversy, and as it is the admiring and appreciative testimony of a former Union soldier to the bravery and humanity of a Southern woman, it displays a spirit of dispassionate generosity which carries the reader's feelings along with it. Clearer circumstantial evidence, indeed, to the inherent soundness of the "human heart by which we live," under whatever political creed it happens to have been nourished, it would not be easy to find between the covers of a book. Into the details of Mrs. Van Metre's sturdy heroism in her rescue from death of a wounded and abandoned Union officer, near Harper's Ferry, it is needless to go; the account of the Vermont officer's steadfast gratitude, and of his assistance to Mrs. Van Metre in finding her Confederate husband in a Northern prison, may also be left to the reader's curiosity. The letter to Mrs. Van Metre from Gen. Hitchcock, informing her of Secretary Stanton's order of release for her husband, in return for the preserved life of an enemy, offers, as here quoted, one of those pleasant incidents now and then to be met with which seem to prove for the nonce that poetic justice is not a fiction of the imagination, but a homely dweller among the stern realities of life.

The value of a book of this kind is quite independent of questions of literary form or finish. Its use is to give permanence and notoriety to an episode similar to many that must survive in the memories of persons still living on the borderland of North and South, the knowledge of which is unfortunately passing away with the lives of those who witnessed them. Whenever such a record does appear, it is highly desirable that it should be disseminated in all quarters where sectional feeling is still in vogue, or wherever there are individuals to be found with unreconstructed opinions upon the subject of the war. Carefully read, it may, in a quiet and unobtrusive way, do much towards making felt the oneness of our national life, and can hardly fail in helping to neutralize the efforts of the sham patriotism which seeks to make political capital by dragging forth the issues of a dead and buried strife.

Utility of Quaternions in Physics. By A. McAulay, Lecturer in Mathematics and Physics in the University of Tasmania. Macmillan & Co. 1893.

When a man has acquired a considerable reputation for intellectual force and attainments, he begins to find people hanging upon his lips and adopting every proposition he may lay down; and, thereupon, being human, he straightway begins to talk about things concerning which he is not qualified to form an opinion. In that way, Maxwell, in his 'Electricity and Magnetism' (§10) said: "I am convinced that the introduction of the ideas, as distinguished from the operations and methods, of Quaternions will be of great use to us in all parts of our subject"; which is as much as to say that he would adopt the addition-process of multiple algebra, without its multiplication-process; and it is amazing what an influence this dictum has had in preventing men from studying quaternions. Yet in truth Maxwell was not enough versed in the subject to know what the ideas of quaternions are. Everybody who has ever exhibited any mastery of quaternions has, we believe without a single exception, pronounced Maxwell's opinion frivolous and superficial. Mr. McAulay writes to demonstrate that it is so, and to convince mathematicians of the high value of quaternions as the *calculus* which it essentially is, and not merely as involving a good idea, and especially of the high value of this calculus in the study of physical problems. We hold this thesis to be sound; but we are sorry to say we fear this book will do little to bring men into the way of truth. There is a sort of an egotistic spirit, an arbitrary self-will, displayed in it that is far from the quality best adapted to the purpose of persuasion. Its innovations in notation are confusing and quite inadmissible. Worse still, the reasoning is in many places decidedly obscure, and often quite needlessly intricate. We can but agree with Prof. Tait, the first of living quaternionists, that some sections of the book are veritable models of "how not to do it." Moreover, Mr. McAulay does not seem to be as familiar with the works of Hamilton as it behooves an apostle of quaternions to be.

Yet, with all these serious faults, the work is not useless, and as it has probably not stood in the way of the publication of any other, we are glad to get it. Though it will not convert the scoffer, it here and there offers suggestions which disciples of Hamilton will receive with satisfaction.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Standard Dictionary of the English Language. Vol. I. Funk & Wagnalls Co. $12.

Atwood, G. E. Complete Graded Arithmetic. Part I. 45 cents. Part II. 85c. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

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Baden-Powell, B. H. Land Revenue and its Administration in British India. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Broughton, L. Estoppel by Matter of Record in Civil Suits in India. Oxford: Clarendon Press: New York: Macmillan.
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Lowell, J. R. A Fable for Critics. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 30 cents.
Lummis, C. F. The Spanish Pioneers. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.50.
Margolis, M. L. An Elementary Text-book of Hebrew Accidence. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College; New York: G. E. Stechert.
Masson, Frédéric. Napoléon et les Femmes. 9th ed. Paris: Ollendorff: New York: Christern.
Moehler, J. A. Symbolism; or, Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants. Scribners. $2.50.
Mozoomdar, P. C. Heart-Beats. Boston: G. H. Ellis. $1.50.
Neville, Ella H., Martin, Sarah G., and Deborah B. Historic Green Bay. Green Bay, Wis.: The Authors. $1.25.
Noll, Augustus. How to Wire Buildings. C. C. Shelley.
Ostrogorski, M. The Rights of Women. London: Sonnenschein: New York: Scribners. $1.
Paul, Kenneth. The New Minister. A. S. Barnes & Co. $1.
Payne, E. J. Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen. First Series. 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $1.40.
Platt, C. A. Italian Gardens. Harpers. $5.
Rand, Rev. S. T. Legends of the Micmacs. Longmans, Green & Co.
Rearden, T. H. Petrarch, and Other Essays. San Francisco: William Doxey.
Ricks, George. Object Lessons and How to Give Them. First and Second Series. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. Each 90 cents.
Rouge, Le Vte. Jacques de. Géographie Ancienne de la Basse-Egypte. Paris: J. Rothschild.
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